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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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THE demonſtrations of love and gratitude which were laviſhed on the King and Royal Family on the day of the Federation, and particularly the energy with which almoſt all the Deputies of the National Guards from the Provinces manifeſted their loyalty and devotion to their Majeſties, alarmed the factious and their adherents beyond all expreſſion. They believed they ſaw the Royaliſm of the ancient ſyſtem reviving, and that was the enemy they moſt dreaded: they therefore haſtened to oppoſe it, in order to give it no time to make a quicker progreſs. They practiſed on this occaſion the arts which had never failed them, thoſe of circulating doubts and

and ſuſpicions, and of pretending to believe in conſpiracies and counter-revolutionary projects. They made it a great crime in the King not to have taken the oath, as *M. de la Fayette* did, upon the National Altar; they pretended alſo that the Nation ought to be highly offended becauſe his Majeſty's chair at the Federation was raiſed two or three inches above the level of the Preſident's, and were continually talking of *the inſolence of the Throne, and of the arrogance of the Executive Power's chair.* The Jacobin Editors of Papers were more violent and inflammatory than ever. One of them, *Camille Deſmoulins,* took the opportunity of the Federation to refer to the triumph of *Paulus Emilius*, and called it a truly National Feſtival, in which a King, with his hands tied behind his back, followed in humiliation the car of the conqueror.

In a paper, entitled *C'en eſt fait de nous, It is all over with us,* that appeared in the Journal called *l'Ami du Peuple*, of which *Marat* was the Editor, there was the following paragraph: "Citizens of every age "and of every condition! the meaſures "taken by the Aſſembly cannot prevent "your ruin: it is over with you for ever if

" you do not run to arms, if you do not re-
" ſume that heroic valour which has twice
" ſaved France, firſt on the 14th of July,
" and then on the 5th of October. Fly to
" St. Cloud, if it be not already too late,
" bring back the King and the Dauphin
" within your walls, keep a good guard over
" them, and let them be reſponſible to you
" for what may happen. Shut up the
" Auſtrian and her brother-in-law, that they
" may no longer plot together. Seize all
" the Miniſters and their Clerks, put them
" into irons: ſecure the Chief of the Mu-
" nicipality and the Mayor's Lieutenant.
" Keep your eye on the General; arreſt the
" Staff Officers; take the poſt of artillery
" in the *Rue-Verte*; make yourſelves maſ-
" ters of all the magazines and powder-
" mills, and let the cannon be divided among
" the Diſtricts. Haſte, haſte, if it be not
" too late, or ſoon will the enemy's hoſt
" fall upon you; ſoon will you ſee the pri-
" vileged orders rearing their heads again,
" and deſpotiſm, horrid deſpotiſm, will ap-
" pear more formidable than ever. Five or
" ſix hundred heads ſtruck off would have
" inſured you peace, liberty, and happineſs;
" but the miſtaken humanity that withheld

" your

" your hands will coſt the lives of millions " of your brethren. Let your enemies " triumph but a moment, and blood will " flow in ſtreams: they will cut your throats " without pity, rip up your wives, and ex- " tinguiſh for ever among you the love of " liberty; their bloody hands will ſearch " for the heart in the bowels of your chil- " dren."

M. Malouet in a moſt eloquent manner denounced thoſe Editors to the Aſſembly. He had ſcarcely named *Camille Deſmoulins* and *Marat*, when violent murmurs, mixed with burſts of laughter, aroſe among the members of the *Coté Gauche*, the indecency of which the exaſperated ſpeaker effectually expoſed, and urged with ſo much energy the danger of ſuffering ſuch ſerious outrages as thoſe he had denounced to go unpuniſhed, that it was decreed, conformably to his motion, that before the Aſſembly broke up the King's Attorney ſhould be ſent for, and enjoined to proſecute for treaſon againſt the Nation the authors, printers, and ſellers of writings exciting the people to rebellion againſt the laws, to bloodſhed, or to the overthrow of the Conſtitution. The King's Attorney of the Chatelet came in during the

Sitting, and the Preſident read to him the Decree that had juſt been paſſed. The tendency of it was too wiſe, and too uſeful to the re-eſtabliſhment of order, to obtain the approbation of the Jacobin Club: they inveighed furiouſly againſt this Decree, which they conſidered as eſſentially counter-revolutionary, and only calculated to retard Liberty. In conſequence, one of its moſt zealous members, who was likewiſe a Member of the Aſſembly *(Dubois de Crancé)*, moved ſome modifications of it; but they were rejected by a great majority. The day following they were artfully introduced again by *Petion* in the Evening Sitting, and powerfully ſupported by *Alexander Lameth*. The members of the *Coté Droit* were unfortunately in the habit of attending theſe Sittings much leſs regularly than thoſe of the morning, and even to thoſe a great number of them never came till it was paſt eleven o'clock: ſo that before that hour, as well as in the Sittings of the evening, the *Coté Gauche* were certain of the majority, not only to paſs the moſt extravagant Decrees, but to revoke the wiſeſt; and ſuch was the fate of that of the 31ſt of July in the Evening Sitting of the 2d of Auguſt. Inſtead of

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the general injunction laid on the King's Attorney, to proſecute as guilty of treaſon againſt the Nation the authors, printers, and ſellers of all writings moving the people to rebellion, bloodſhed, &c. *he was forbidden to inſtitute actions, or undertake proſecutions, on account of any writings whatever* hitherto publiſhed, excepting, however, *Marat's* paper, entitled *C'en eſt fait de nous*. There was a ſtriking difference between this paper and the Journal of *Camille Deſmoulins*, both denounced by *M. Malouet*. *Marat* was a furious writer, always blood-thirſty, and whoſe rage reſpected no one. *Camille Deſmoulins*, though a warm Revolutioniſt, had the prudence to inſult only the King and Royal Family; to devote to the lantern, of which he had conſtituted himſelf Attorney General, only Ariſtocrats, that is to ſay, the Nobility and Clergy. He wrote in the pureſt ſenſe of the Revolution, and conſequently had a great right to the protection of the patriots of eminence who compoſed the *Coté Gauche* of the Aſſembly.

Although the Decree of the 31ſt of July had been almoſt completely revoked by that of the 2d of Auguſt, it was to be feared

that it might ſtill create ſome uneaſineſs to the Revolutionary Emiſſaries diſperſed about the country. It was therefore neceſſary to remove their apprehenſions, and to convince them that the Aſſembly had again embraced its ſyſtem of indulgence, not only for inflammatory writings, but even for the moſt ſerious outrages which were excited by them. Accordingly three days after, in another nocturnal Sitting, it was decreed, on the motion of *Chapelier*, "that the Preſident "ſhould wait upon the King, to beg of him "to order that all the criminal proceedings "inſtituted in the Departments of Liſle and "Vilaine, of the Lower Loire and Mor-"bihan, on account of the depredations and "acts of violence committed in ſeveral pa-"riſhes of thoſe Departments, ſhould be "withdrawn; and that the perſons impri-"ſoned by virtue of thoſe proceedings "ſhould be ſet at liberty."

Theſe decrees having more than ever ſecured for the Brigands an exemption from the puniſhment of all crimes whatever committed in the name of Liberty, or accompanied with imprecations againſt the Ariſtocrats, produced the effect which the Factious had promiſed themſelves from them. Riotous

ous aſſemblies were renewed at the *Palais-Royal*, and at the *Thuilleries:* the moſt ſanguinary motions were made from day to day, and new liſts of proſcriptions drawn out. At firſt it was voted in theſe groups that the Miniſters ſhould be diſmiſſed, then that they ſhould be arreſted, and ſoon after that they ſhould be executed. At the very doors of the Aſſembly exhortations to hang *M. de Montmorin*, *M. de la Tour du Pin*, and *M. de St. Prieſt*, were cried aloud; the two former, becauſe a paſſage had been granted to ſome detachments of Auſtrian troops over the frontiers of France to the Belgic Provinces. This paſſage, mutually ſtipulated by the treaties ſubſiſting between France and the Empire, was conſidered by the terrified patriots as an invaſion of the country by the armies of the Emperor. The crime imputed to *M. de St. Prieſt* was, that he had entered into the pretended counter-revolutionary conſpiracy, of which *M. de Maillebois* and *M. de Bonne-Savardin* were accuſed; the latter of whom had been arreſted on the 1ſt of May by the Municipality of Pont de Beauvoiſin, and removed to the priſon of the *Abbaye*.

M. de Bonne-Savardin's eſcape with the Abbé

Abbé *de Barmont*, a member of the National Aſſembly, and a very decided Royaliſt, had given this imaginary conſpiracy a conſiſtency, of which, from its abſurdity, it would not have been otherwiſe ſuſceptible. The Committee of Inquiry for the town, whoſe ſervice conſiſted leſs in diſcovering real plots than in ſuppoſing them, and in always having a ſufficient number of them to ſupply the Revolutionary Journals, diſplayed their zeal on this occaſion by the publication of a volume in octavo, of 200 pages, entitled—*A Report made to the Committee of Inquiry of the Municipality of Paris, tending to denounce* M. de Maillebois, M. Bonne-Savardin, *and* M. Guignard de St. Prieſt, *with the vouchers, and the reſolution of the Committee.*

It appeared from this Report that one *Maſſot*, who had been *M. de Maillebois's* ſecretary, had appeared before the Committee on the 24th of March 1790, and denounced a Memoir which, he ſaid, had been given to him by *M. de Bonne-Savardin* in the month of February preceding to be copied, and which contained the plan of a counter-revolution in *M. de Maillebois's* handwriting. Neither the original nor copy of this

this writing had been produced to the Committee, but merely an extract; which *Maſſot* declared he had written from memory, and which the Committee reported in the following terms:

"An intelligent officer offers his ſervices "to the Count *d'Artois* to effect his return "to France in a manner ſuitable to his dig- "nity, in caſe the Prince has no other views. "This officer, who believes the thing poſ- "ſible, propoſes to engage the King of Sar- "dinia to lend 25,000 ſoldiers, and make "an advance of ſix millions of livres; to en- "gage Spain to enter into this project, either "by furniſhing troops, or by making an ad- "vance of eight millions; and to ſound "the Emperor, to find if he were willing to "furniſh ſuccours of either kind.

"It ſeems certain that the Duke of *Deux-* "*Ponts*, the Margrave of *Baden*, the Land- "grave of *Heſſe*, &c. will ſupport this plan "with all their power, as they are deter- "mined to maintain their rights in Alſace.

"When this confederacy is formed, a "Manifeſto muſt be thought of in the "Prince's cabinet, and drawn up by *M.* "*Mounier* and *M. Lally Tolendal*, "grounded upon the Declaration of the

"month

" month of June. The Manifeſto, after " having been ſeen by the officer, ſhould be " publiſhed before the campaign was entered " upon.

" The firſt ſtep ſhould be to march towards " Lyons, where it is hoped there will be " little difficulty to ſurmount, on account " of the privileges that might be imme- " diately granted to that town in favour of " its commerce. Another army might be " led by Brabant, and a third by Lorraine. " It may be expected that theſe three armies " will be greatly augmented by the anti- " patriotic party. By the management of " ſkilful emiſſaries, and by the means of " money, the troops that are on the frontiers " would be gained over. The three armies " ſhould advance to Corbeil, Senlis, and " Meaux, ſhould diſarm all the Munici- " palities that lay in or near their road, make " them take an oath of allegiance to the " King, and compel them to recall their " Deputies, ſhould the States-General be " then ſitting. Paris ſhould be blockaded; " and it is hoped that by this means the " Nation would be brought into a proper " way of thinking."

Maſſot added in his Declaration, "that being " juſtly

" juſtly alarmed at the enormity of this plan, " he left *M. de Maillebois* with an inten- " tion to denounce the conſpirators: that " *M. de Bonne-Savardin* had told him " (*Maſſot*) that the Sardinian Ambaſſador, " who was in the ſecret of the plan, had " undertaken to raiſe 30 millions in Paris to " favour the execution of it: that *M. de* " *Maillebois's* Valet-de-Chambre had alſo " told him, that while he was dreſſing his " maſter on the 22d of March, the day of " his departure, he appeared to be in great " agitation, and even *trembled ſo much,* " that he could not utter a ſyllable; and that " after he was dreſſed he leaned upon the " chimney-piece, and ſaid in a mournful " tone of voice, *That cruel fellow* Maſſot " *has betrayed me!*"

This valet-de-chambre, named *Le Noir,* being called before the Committee three days after *Maſſot's* declaration had been taken, depoſed, in fact, that *M. de Maillebois* had appeared very much agitated on the day of his departure, but he did not ſay a ſingle word of the *great trembling* his maſter was ſaid to have undergone, nor of the mournful exclamation relative to the perfidy of *Maſſot.*

The Committee in their Report made mention

tion of a letter from *M. de Maillebois*, found at *M. de Bonne-Savardin's* when he was arreſted, which contained theſe words. *The plot has failed.* They alſo declared that it was proved by ſeveral depoſitions that the Count *D'Artois* had rejected this project, and had formally declared that he diſapproved of it. That Prince's anſwer, which was ſeveral times repeated in the Committee's Report, was, *that he would enter into no plan which might give riſe to a civil war.*

According to this Report, there were no other grounds for implicating *M. de St. Prieſt* in the plot, than an article in *M. de Bonne-Savardin's* memorandum-book, which mentions a letter that he had written to *M. de Maillebois* to inform him of a converſation he had had with a certain perſon of the name of *Farcy*, and which he related in the following form:

" *Bonne-Savardin.* When will there be " an end to this?

" *Farcy.* There muſt be an end to it: " were it not for that hope, we might put " the key under the door, and wait to be " but chered.

" *Bonne-Savardin.* The Spring will put

" an

" an end to it, as the King has fixed upon " that period to go and viſit the Provinces.

" *Farcy.* Are you not afraid that all theſe " regiments will obſtruct it? that they will " follow and render your *projects* fruit- " leſs?" &c. &c.

M. de Bonne-Savardin, in his examination, obſerved that the *projects* which they were inclined to conſider as thoſe of a counter-revolution, related entirely to the King's journey, which could not take place had the National Guard at Paris determined to follow him in too great a number. Being preſſed to declare whether, under the name of *Farcy, M. de St. Prieſt* was meant or not, he anſwered, " that it might be ſo, but that he " could not aſſert it without the riſk of of- " fending truth."

To this was reduced the facts ſtated in the Report. The reſt of this voluminous pamphlet conſiſted of declamations, conjectures, comments on each phraſe, on every word, and the like.

What confidence then would be due to the abſurd declaration of this faithleſs ſecretary, this weak patriot, who having had the original plan of conſpiracy in his power, and having made a copy of it, ſo fooliſhly gave up

up both, and let a whole month paſs before he took it into his head to be frightened with *the enormity of the plan*, to make a copy of it from memory, and to go and preſent it to the Committee of Inquiry? What reliance was to be placed on the memory or aſſertion of a man, who, on the 24th of March, repeating, or at leaſt having only to repeat what he pretended had been told him the day before by *M. de Maillebois's* valet-de-chambre, advanced what the valet-de-chambre declared he had never ſaid? Was it not natural to preſume that the ſame man, who in four-and-twenty hours had forgotten what was ſaid to him, or recollected to have heard what was not ſaid to him, might alſo be very capable of not recollecting with the greateſt accuracy the contents of a paper which had been given to him to copy a month before?

Beſides, as *Maſſot* did not bring forward this famous denunciation till the 24th of March, and did not ſay that he had threatened *M. de Maillebois* with it before-hand, how was it poſſible that the latter, two days previouſly (the 22d), could have ſuffered ſo much agitation and trembling in thinking of the perfidy of his ſecretary? or exclaim in a mournful

mournful tone, *the cruel fellow, he has betrayed me?*

But laying aſide all the ſuſpicions of impoſture ariſing from ſo many improbabilities, and the character of the denouncer, does this plan juſtify our conceptions of one who had always been conſidered, not only as a man of great ſenſe and judgment, but as a general officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents? Was it with fourteen millions from the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, twenty-five thouſand Piedmonteſe, and the formidable aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Margrave of *Baden*, that *M. de Maillebois*, forming three powerful armies, propoſed to enter the kingdom by Lyons, Flanders, and Loraine; to diſarm all the Municipalities, blockade Paris, and overthrow the new Conſtitution, which three millions National Guards and the whole army had ſworn to defend! Had ſuch a plan been ſent in the original to the Committee of Inquiry, it ſhould have been conſidered in no other light than as the viſion of a madman. But this collection of abſurdities, compoſed from the pretended recollections of a faithleſs ſecretary, could

not but be a groſs and ill-connected calumny unworthy of the ſlighteſt attention.

The accuſation pointed againſt *M. de St. Prieſt*, as a ſuppoſed accomplice of this imaginary conſpiracy, was ſtill more deſtitute of all manner of foundation; having in fact no other than the account given by *M. de Bonne-Savardin* in the copy of a letter written to *M. de Maillebois* of a converſation which he had had on the 5th of December, 1789, with a certain perſon called *Farcy*, and a viſit which was paid that day to *M. de St. Prieſt* by *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, as mentioned in his memorandum-book. Notwithſtanding the formal denial and reaſoning of *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, the Committee of Inquiry had concluded, from the date of the viſit and the converſation being the ſame, that *M. de St. Prieſt* was meant by *Farcy*. Although this unimportant converſation had nothing in it relative to any counter-revolutionary plan, and certainly could have no reference whatever to the enormous conſpiracy of which *M. de Maillebois* was accuſed, and of which, according to the terms uſed in his ſecretary's information, he had not drawn up the memorandum

morandum till the month of February following, that is to ſay, about three months after the converſation, the Committee did not heſitate to conſider *M. de St. Prieſt* as concerned in the project. The Solicitor of the Commune denounced him to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet, and the Capital was overwhelmed with atrocious libels, in which the people were excited to demand the puniſhment of *M. de St. Prieſt*, and the diſmiſſion of all the Miniſters.

Such were the uſual means employed by the Factious to agitate the people in every criſis, of which the iſſue might be fatal to themſelves. Their alarm on the preſent occaſion was more ſerious than any ſince the beginning of the Revolution. The proceedings of the Chatelet on the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were drawing to a concluſion; the ſecret of ſome depoſitions had tranſpired, and the public voice had marked out great criminals among the moſt popular members of the Aſſembly. This was giving them notice to put themſelves upon their guard, to aſſume not only a defenſive but a menacing attitude, and conſequently to keep the people in a continual ſtate of effervescence, that they might be able

able at pleaſure to excite them to inſurrection, ſo long as the ſtorm which they had to dread ſhould continue to threaten.

Such was the principal cauſe of the extreme fermentation which reigned in Paris from the month of July to the 2d of October; at which time the Report relative to the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, and to the famous Decree which declared that there was no ground for accuſation againſt the Duke of *Orleans* and *Mirabeau*, was preſented to the Aſſembly.

This fermentation ſpreading into the Provinces, which were ever ready to follow the example of the Capital, produced the ſeditious commotions and exceſſes which broke out at once in every quarter *. In ſhort, it is to the ſame cauſe that the increaſe of the

* I will confine myſelf to mentioning the inſurrections which took place at Avignon, Hagueneau, Lyons, Metz, Toulon, Nancy, Carcaſſone, &c. Men ran about the country, crying, "Here's the great Decree which forbids the paying of Tithes and Quit-Rents." *(Report of the Committee of Inquiry in the Sitting of the 2d of Auguſt.)* Licentiouſneſs and diſorder had made their way into all the regiments, and had completely diſorganiſed the army, while the Aſſembly were debating upon its organization. *(Memorial of the Miniſter in the Sitting of the 6th of Auguſt.)*

oppreſſions

oppreſſions of the Committee of Inquiry, and the heat and violence of the debates which in that interval rendered the Sittings of the Aſſembly ſo tumultuous, muſt be attributed.

On the 7th of Auguſt the Judges of the Chatelet informed the Aſſembly that the proceedings relative to the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were cloſed. "We are "come at length," ſaid the Magiſtrate who was at the head of this Deputation, "to "withdraw the veil that concealed a pro- "ceeding unfortunately too much celebrated. "Thoſe ſecrets, replete with horror, are "now to be made known.—And what was "our grief to find the depoſitions in theſe "proceedings implicating two Members of "the National Aſſembly! No doubt they "would have eagerly ſtepped forward to "prove themſelves innocent; but you have "rendered it impoſſible for us to put them "on their trial. You are to become the "ſureties of the public vengeance; you "will ceaſe to be legiſlators in order to be "judges; you will regulate the influence "of circumſtances on our duty; you will "inform us what crimes the ſword of "juſtice muſt ſtrike, what criminals it muſt "puniſh!"

There were great debates on this occaſion: the principal ſpeakers of the *Coté-Droit*, the Abbé *Maury* and *M. de Caſalés*, contended with force that the Aſſembly ought to remand the Proceedings to the Chatelet, with an order to continue the proſecution againſt all criminals indifferently; declaring that the law knew only citizens, and conſidered them all as equal. But *Mirabeau*, ſupported by all the *Coté-Gauche*, inſiſted ſucceſsfully on the execution of the Decree of the 26th of June preceding, which had been paſſed in the affair of *M. de Lautrec*, and by which it was declared, "that the Deputies to the "National Aſſembly could not have ſen-"tence paſſed upon them by any Judges "until the Legiſlative Body, after an ex-"amination of the charges and evidence, "ſhould have decided that there were "grounds for the accuſation." It was decreed in conſequence, "that the Committee "of Reports ſhould exhibit to the Aſſembly "an account of the charges that concerned "the Repreſentatives of the Nation, if there "exiſted any, in the proceedings carried on "at the Chatelet on the events of the 6th "of October laſt, for the purpoſe of its "being declared on the ſaid Report whether

" there were grounds for accuſation or not."
The Aſſembly reſolved moreover, " 1ſt, That
" two of the Judges of the Chatelet ſhould
" be called in to aſſiſt at the opening of
" the papers received from that Court, and
" to ſee the inventory made of the docu-
" ments contained therein. 2dly, That it
" was not the meaning of the Aſſembly to
" ſtop the courſe of the Proceedings as
" to the other perſons arraigned or tried.
" 3dly, That the Committee of Inquiry for
" Paris ſhould, without delay, deliver into
" the hands of the King's Solicitor of the
" Chatelet all the documents and papers
" which may be relative to the Proceedings,
" in order to ſerve ſo far as they may be re-
" quired to the proſecution."

This laſt arrangement related to a very remarkable diſtinction which the Committee of Inquiry for the town had made, and on which they grounded their refuſal to communicate ſeveral papers and documents that had been demanded of them by the Chatelet. The Committee made a difference between the outrages committed on the 5th of October and thoſe committed on the next day. The former, they ſaid, ſeemed to them rather deſerving of public gratitude than of a

criminal profecution, and they had denounced only thoſe committed on the 6th! They pretended to be authoriſed by this reſtriction to refuſe all the papers and documents relative to the 5th. In the Decree likewiſe which I have juſt reported, no mention was made but of the outrages of the 6th of October: however, the injunction reſpecting the delivery of the papers being general, it threw the Committee of Inquiry for the town into a very aukward ſituation. As they ſaw no means of extricating themſelves from it but by applying to the Aſſembly, they appeared on the 10th of Auguſt at the Evening Sitting, and ſhewed that they had conſtantly declared, both to the Commune and to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet, "That the Committee "of Inquiry for the town were totally "ſtrangers to all information but ſuch as had "been laid againſt the crimes committed "at the Palace of Verſailles in the morning "of the 6th of October, and that all the "documents relative to thoſe crimes had "been communicated to the King's Soli-"citor of the Chatelet. We ſhould think "ourſelves highly culpable," added the ſpeaker, "if we had denounced the 5th day "of October .... it would have been ar-

"raigning

" raigning the Revolution. We beſeech " the National Aſſembly, after what we " have now ſaid, to take into conſideration " the dilemma into which we are thrown by " their Decree of the 7th of this month, " which orders us to communicate without " delay to the King's Attorney-General the " papers and documents which may be re- " lative to the events of the 5th and 6th of " October."

A motion being made to refer this requeſt to the Committee of Reports, the Abbé *Maury* attempted to ſpeak, but he was driven from the tribune by noiſes and the moſt ſcandalous burſts of laughter; and the Aſſembly paſſed to the hearing of another petition without coming to any determination on that of the Committee of Inquiry, which the majority were not willing to reject, but which they did not dare to admit. The conſequence of this was, that the requeſt was conſidered as tacitly referred to the Committee of Reports.

The Abbé *de Barmond* having been arreſted at Chalons with *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, was brought back to Paris on the 17th of Auguſt, attended by a numerous eſcort of National Guards, and immediately wrote to the

the Preſident of the Aſſembly to demand a hearing the next day. After debating whether he ſhould be ſet at liberty, and ſpeak from the tribune or not, it was determined that he ſhould continue under arreſt and appear at the Bar, whither he was conducted on the 18th. The account he gave of his conduct excited great intereſt. He ſhowed that he had not been acquainted with *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, nor had ever ſeen him before the 16th of July, at ſix o'clock in the morning, that is to ſay, three days after he had eſcaped from the priſon of the Abbaye; that being greatly affected by the ſituation and entreaties of that officer, he had not had ſufficient ſtrength of mind to refuſe him the aſylum he ſolicited; that after he had kept him ſome days at his houſe, being obliged to leave Paris that he might not loſe the ſeaſon for the waters which he had been ordered to take, he conſented to give *M. de Bonne-Savardin* a place in his carriage, provided no ſentence were paſſed againſt him before his departure; that the Chatelet having pronounced judgment on the 26th in the proceeding relative to the buſineſs in queſtion, and not having given any deciſion whatever againſt *M. de Bonne-Savardin*,

Savardin, he (the Abbé *de Barmond*), impelled by a ſentiment of humanity far more powerful than all the conſiderations of prudence, had ſet out on his journey with him that very night. He did not deny that his conduct might be taxed with weakneſs, but he maintained that not a ſhadow of a crime could be perceived in it, and demanded to be ſet at liberty proviſionally, on giving his word of honour not to leave Paris.

Of all the Members of the Aſſembly who ſpoke in favour of the Abbé *de Barmond*, none defended him with more energy than the Preſident *de Frondeville*. "The 7th "article of your declaration of the Rights "of Man," ſaid he, "determines that no "one can be accuſed, arreſted, or detained, "but in ſuch caſes as are ſettled by the law; "that they who require, give, execute, or "cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, "ought to be puniſhed.—Why then is *M.* "*de Barmond* detained? He is not accuſed, "nor is there any judgment againſt him. "It is ſaid that he was openly taken in the "fact. But what fact? And with what "man was he flying? With one reſpecting "whom the ſame law had been infringed. "No ſentence had been pronounced againſt

"*M. de*

" *M. de Bonne-Savardin:* he could not, " therefore, be regarded but as a citizen, in " whoſe perſon liberty had been violated.— " By whom was he arreſted under his own " roof?—We are told by the Committee of " Inquiry for the town—but by whom were " thoſe ſtrange tribunals, thoſe ſatellites of " tyranny created? By themſelves: they " have no powers but what they have arro- " gated. This odious inſtitution is autho- " riſed by no law, no decree; and ſuch is " the tribunal at which *M. de Barmond* is " accuſed of having carried off a citizen! " If it be a good action to ſupport the law, " *M. de Barmond* did a good action in re- " moving a citizen from tyranny; and now " it is propoſed to you to detain him under " an arreſt, while for theſe ſix months paſt " the aſſaſſins of our Princes are freely pa- " rading the capital, nay, perhaps, while " they are ſeated among ourſelves!"

Theſe laſt words, accompanied with a very ſignificant look fixed on the Duke of *Orleans*, excited a tumult, which was the more violent from its being known that that Prince and *Mirabeau* were the two Members of the Aſſembly hinted at by the Chatelet, as impeached in the proceedings relative to the outrages

outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. The clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*, and howlings of the galleries, called *M. de Frondeville* to the bar. The agitation increaſed, and continued ſo long, that the Preſident was obliged to put on his hat; and *M. de Frondeville* went down to the bar to put an end to the diſorder. He there, however, demanded to be heard from the tribune, and having been authoriſed to return to it by the Aſſembly, he ſaid, that if he had been permitted to finiſh the ſentence which had created ſo much anger, and which he offered to repeat, it would have been ſeen that it was merely hypothetical, and that the ſuppoſition was founded on the proceedings of the Chatelet. Neither the repetition of the ſentence, nor what he ſaid afterwards, was ſuffered to be heard. After a long and tumultuous debate, *M. de Frondeville* having withdrawn, the Preſident pronounced the following Decree: "The Aſſembly declare that the Member who ſpoke the ſentence in queſtion is "cenſured, and they order that his ſpeech "be laid upon the table."

With reſpect to the Abbé *de Barmond*, the Aſſembly charged the Committee of Inquiry to give an account, on the Monday following,

following, of the different papers which had been delivered to them on this buſineſs; but at the ſame time decreed that the Abbé ſhould continue under an arreſt till further orders.

The diſpute which the Preſident *de Frondeville* had given riſe to did not end in this Sitting, and had nearly been attended with very ſerious conſequences. He cauſed his ſpeech to be printed, with this line for a motto,

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas,

and with a preface, beginning with the following expreſſion: *Thoſe who take the trouble to read my ſpeech will hardly gueſs why I cauſed it to be printed, if I do not inform them that I have been honoured with the cenſure of the National Aſſembly for it, which is in fact the only merit I am conſcious of its having.*

This publication was denounced to the Aſſembly as being diſtributed and ſold publicly at the very door of the Hall. The Deputy who denounced it concluded with moving, that *M. de Frondeville* ſhould be called upon to acknowledge, or to diſavow it. The members of the *Coté-Droit* moved the order of the day, but the motion

motion was rejected, and *M. de Frondeville* being called upon by the President, declared, without the least hesitation, that he had caused the pamphlet to which his name was affixed to be printed, and had ordered it to be distributed in the Assembly, but no where else.

As this avowal was accompanied with no expression of excuse or regret, the President *de Frondeville's* motto and preface were considered by the *Coté-Gauche* as *an insult offered to the whole Nation, whose majesty*, said they, *resides in its representatives*; and a motion was made in consequence, "that *M. de Frondeville* be declared guilty, "on his own confession, of a breach of the "respect due to the Assembly; and that he "be condemned, as a punishment, to re-"main in custody for eight days."

This motion was warmly opposed by the Abbé *Maury*, who contended that the Assembly had no right to inflict a penalty which was enacted by no law, for a supposed crime which no law had described. "Your cen-"sure," said he, "does not dishonour; "yet if one of your members, on whom "it has fallen, pretends to be honoured by "it, he argues very erroneously, but he

"does

" does not commit a crime. However, ſuch " is the inſult which it is propoſed to you " to puniſh, while all that is great and moſt " auguſt is left open to the attacks of the li- " bels which are circulated in profuſion with " impunity."

The debate grew warm on either ſide to a great degree. " When a man is ho- " noured with cenſure," ſaid *Barnave*, " impriſonment is the mildeſt puniſhment " that" —— At theſe words *M. de Faucigny*, tranſported with indignation, interrupted the ſpeaker, and ruſhing into the middle of the Hall exclaimed: " This looks " like an open war made by the Majority " on the Minority, and the only way to put " an end to it is to fall ſword in hand on " thoſe fellows."

The *Coté-Gauche* riſe in a fury; the Preſident *de Frondeville*, alarmed for *M. de Faucigny*, ſprings to the tribune; *Barnave* ſpeaks again, and qualifies the expreſſion he had begun: he talks no more of priſon, but only of depriving *M. de Frondeville* of his liberty for a certain time. " As to the new " inſult that has juſt been offered," adds he, " and which muſt grieve us all, I ſhall not " examine it deeply; but the reſpect which " the

" the Aſſembly owe themſelves makes it re-
" quiſite that the Preſident ſhould give orders
" immediately to ſecure the perſon of"——

The Preſident *de Frondeville* did not ſuffer this ſentence to be finiſhed, but exclaimed with the moſt affecting emotion—" Yes,
" Gentlemen, I am guilty, very guilty. The
" inſtant that there eſcaped from one of our
" colleagues in my defence an expreſſion of
" violence, which might be attended with
" the moſt ſerious conſequences, I felt how
" very wrong I had been; but I beſeech
" you, Gentlemen, I conjure you, look only
" to me, let the penalty fall ſolely upon my
" head. I accuſe myſelf in the eyes of the
" public, and of the Aſſembly; I am un-
" happy at being the cauſe of ſuch a ſcene;
" I deſire you to puniſh me, I am ready to
" go to priſon; but I conjure you by your
" ſenſibility, and in the name of our coun-
" try, to conſider the haſty words that have
" juſt eſcaped but as the firſt impulſe of a
" warm imagination, and which cannot be
" the expreſſion of a ſentiment: I again
" beſeech you to let all the penalty fall on
" me; ſend me to priſon, I am ready to
" go. Turn your eyes on me, I know that
" I have not deſerved your indulgence, yet

" ſtill ſhould I be too cruelly puniſhed were
" you to give ſerious conſequences to the
" debate about to enſue.—Pardon my con-
" fuſion, I expreſs ill what I feel; I am ſo
" agitated—I beg it as a favour that you will
" let the puniſhment fall ſolely upon me; I
" myſelf move that the ſentence ſhould there-
" fore be the more heavy, and I entreat that
" it may be inſtantly paſſed."

This noble impulſe of ſenſibility made a moſt favourable impreſſion on the whole Aſſembly: all reſentment, all ideas of vengeance vaniſhed; mild tears glittered in every eye, and a general clapping of hands thanked the ſpeaker for having produced ſo happy a revolution. There was no longer any queſtion about ſending *M. de Frondeville* to priſon: the Deputy who had made the motion withdrew it, and propoſed to reduce the puniſhment, which *M. de Frondeville* acknowledged to have deſerved, to a confinement of eight days to his houſe; which was decreed by a great majority.

M. de Faucigny retracted the expreſſions that had eſcaped him from an impulſe of feeling which he had not been able to command, when he heard a priſon ſpoken of as a puniſhment too mild for one of his colleagues;

leagues; and the Aſſembly, ſatisfied with theſe apologies, remitted the penalty he had incurred.

During the week that the Preſident *de Frondeville* was confined, his houſe was crouded with viſitors; all the good company in Paris made it a point to pay attention to him; as they did likewiſe to *M. de Cazalès*, who, at the ſame period, had been confined at home for ſome days, after a duel he had had with *Barnave*, and in which he had received a contuſion on the head that would have killed him on the ſpot if the thickneſs of his hat had not deadened the ball.

M. de Frondeville was on the preſent occaſion on the point of running the ſame riſk from the Duke of *Orleans*; from whom Madame *de B.* by means of her reproaches, had drawn a promiſe of demanding ſatisfaction for the inſulting alluſion made to him in the Sitting of the 18th of Auguſt. "You thought," ſaid ſhe to him, "that "your rank as a Prince of the Blood did not "ſuffer you to fight with *M. de Goguelas*, "after the atrocious inſult he publicly put "upon you in the Queen's apartments*: "but

* The Duke of *Orleans*, a few days after his return

" but that is not the caſe now, *M. de Fron-*
" *deville* is, like yourſelf, a Deputy of the
" Nobility, and your colleague; he inſulted
" you in the moſt ſtriking manner before
" the whole Aſſembly, and he has beſides
" accuſed you moſt ſeriouſly in his depoſi-
" tion before the Chatelet; you are for ever
" diſhonoured if you do not demand ſatis-
" faction for it." Theſe words, pronounced with all the warmth and energy which a woman jealous of the honour of her lover might be ſuppoſed to give them, produced the miraculous effect of making the Duke of *Orleans* for a moment forget his natural cowardice. He commiſſioned Prince *Louis D'Aremberg*, his intimate friend, to call on *M. de Frondeville*, and appoint the day, hour, and place for their meeting. The Prince *D'Aremberg* wrote that very evening (the 18th of Auguſt) to the Preſident *de Frondeville*, and obſerved that he was commiſſioned to ſpeak to him upon an affair of

from England, being in the Queen's apartments, *M. de Goguelas*, who happened to be there, went up to him, took him by the ſhoulder, and twirling him violently round upon his heels, ſaid in a very loud voice: " Ah! " you here, you ſcoundrel!—how dare you appear in this " place?"

conſequence,

conſequence, and to propoſe what he could not explain more clearly by writing, but the object of which he imagined *M. de Frondeville* would eaſily gueſs; and in conſequence he requeſted a meeting next day, between twelve and one o'clock, without fail. The Preſident received this letter on returning home, and replied to the Prince *D'Aremberg* that he had no doubt as to the propoſal which he had to make, that he was ready to anſwer it, and that no buſineſs could be more eaſily ſettled: that he was particularly deſirous it ſhould meet with no delay, and promiſed to be at home at the hour appointed, or to call upon the Prince *D'Aremberg*. The latter wrote next morning a ſecond note to *M. de Frondeville*, to requeſt that he would wait for him at hôme till the hour appointed.

The next day the Preſident *de Frondeville* informed the Marquis *de Mortemar* of his ſituation, and engaged him to accompany him: but in vain did he wait at home for the Prince *D'Aremberg* till paſt one o'clock; he neither came nor wrote, nor was there any news whatever heard of him by *M. de Frondeville*, who was forming conjectures ſo ſtrange a conduct might give riſe to, when he was told of the great uproar

which the pamphlet he had publiſhed that day created in the Aſſembly. Inſtead of the ſingle combat for which he was prepared, he was called to a battle for which he was not prepared, but to which he haſtened without heſitation, leaving orders with his ſervants to ſend to him at the Aſſembly, if the Prince *D'Aremberg* ſhould call. On his return from that Sitting, the principal ſcenes of which I have already deſcribed, hearing that the Prince had not called, he wrote to him to expreſs his ſurpriſe at his not keeping his appointment in ſo urgent and ſerious a buſineſs; adding, that although the Aſſembly had put him under confinement, he was ready to break through it for an hour or two if neceſſary, and to repair to the ſpot where the affair in queſtion was to be determined. The Prince *D'Aremberg* ſent him no anſwer till the day following, and then wrote that he was very ſorry he had engaged in a buſineſs of this nature, without being able to bring it to a proper iſſue; but that certain reaſons, of the merits of which it was not his part to judge, made him apprehend that it would not be determined in the manner it ought to be; yet that he did not entirely deſpair of it. Here this correſpondence dropped,

ped, and the Duke of *Orleans* contented himſelf with publiſhing a law caſe, full of groſs invectives againſt *M. de Frondeville*, to which was annexed an Opinion ſigned by ſeveral Advocates, and in which the Duke was adviſed to proſecute the Preſident *de Frondeville* in a court of criminal juriſdiction, for having given falſe evidence. In fact, he inſtituted a complaint againſt him; but the depoſitions made by the witneſſes, of whom he had produced above an hundred, alledging no grounds to eſtabliſh this charge, he abandoned the proſecution.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Revolt of the Garriſon at Nancy—M. de Bouillé marches thither with an Army, defeats the Rebels, and reſtores Order—New modelling of the Army—New Penal Code for the Navy—Its Effects—Affecting Addreſs from the Inhabitants of Bearn to the King, beſeeching him to retain the Palace at Pau, which had been the Cradle of Henry IV.—The King's Letter to the Aſſembly on this Occaſion—The Aſſembly order the Proceedings of the Chatelet on the Outrages of the 5th and 6th of October to be printed, and reſolve that the Members who appeared as Witneſſes ſhould not vote as Judges—Forced Retreat of Mr. Necker—His Humiliation and Sufferings—

ings—A Letter written by him to the Aſſembly—He is twice arreſted in his Road—A View of the National Debt publiſhed by the Committee of Finances.

IN one of the articles of the Conſtitutional Code it was ſaid, *the armed force is eſſentially obedient*; but the mutiny of all the regiments was a palpable contradiction to that article, and proved to the authors of it that they had worded the expreſſion improperly. They no doubt meant to ſay that the armed force *ſhould be* eſſentially obedient. But men are not always eſſentially what they ought to be, and it was but too true that at this period the armed force was entirely diſobedient. This appeared at Nancy by the moſt dreadful exceſſes. Great diſorders had broken out in that garriſon ever ſince the month of July, and the Aſſembly flattered themſelves that the Decree which they had paſſed on the 6th of Auguſt, on the repreſentation of the Miniſter of War, would be ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh order.

M. de Malſeigne, a general officer, who was commiſſioned to carry that Decree to Nancy, and to cauſe it to be executed, found on his arrival the arſenal and powder-maga-

zine

zine broke open and pillaged, eighteen pieces of cannon in the poſſeſſion of the mutineers, and the military cheſt of the regiments carried off. The ſoldiers having gained the populace, had forced the Municipal Officers and Members of the Department to give them money, threatening to hang them in caſe of a refuſal: they ſpoke only with contempt of the National Aſſembly, and of its Decrees; and openly declared their intention of pillaging the town. The officers were inſulted, ill-treated, and impriſoned; among thoſe impriſoned was *M. de Noue*, the Commandant of the place.

The garriſon of Nancy was compoſed of four battalions of the King's regiment, two battalions of the Swiſs regiment of Chateauvieux, and the Meſtre-de-Camp regiment of horſe. *M. de Malſeigne* cauſed the decree of the Aſſembly to be proclaimed, but the ſoldiers and people turned it into ridicule, and declared that they would not obey it. On the 26th of Auguſt, that General went to the quarters of the regiment of Chateauvieux, and uſed every means, both of mildneſs and firmneſs, to recall the ſoldiers to the obedience they owed to their officers, but in vain; and he was retiring when a grenadier preſented

preſented his bayonet to his breaſt, and ſtopped him. *M. de Malſeigne* ſtepping back, drew his ſword, put aſide the bayonet, and ſlightly wounded the grenadier. Another ſoldier aimed a blow at him with his ſabre, which he parried, and wounded the man; but his ſword breaking, he ſnatched one from an officer of the Marechauſsée who was by, with which he opened a paſſage for himſelf through the ſoldiers that were in his way, and walked quietly home. The next day at noon he ſet out for Luneville, where there were eight ſquadrons of light-horſe not yet infected by the ſpirit of revolt.

The garriſon of Nancy alarmed at *M. de Malſeigne's* unexpected departure, diſpatched in purſuit of him a large detachment of National Guards and ſoldiers, all on horſeback, with their officers, whom they had compelled to go with them at their head. They had nearly come up with him when a party of light-horſe fortunately appeared on the ſame road. *M. de Malſeigne* haſtened up to them, and, having harangued them, put himſelf at their head, and fell upon the ſoldiers who were purſuing him. Theſe were ſoon routed, and ſeveral of them wounded. They made the beſt of their way back to Nancy,

cy, calling out, *Treachery*, accuſed their officers, wounded five of them, and arreſted twenty, whom they compelled to lie on ſtraw in the priſon-room at the guard-houſe. *M. de Noue* himſelf was made to change his clothes for a town-ſerjeant's great-coat, and put in confinement. In the mean time a party of the garriſon of Nancy went to Luneville to demand *M. de Malſeigne*, found the troopers under arms, and parleyed with them. They conſented to give him up, and he was hurried away in his night-gown and cap, placed in his own carriage between a trooper and a grenadier of the King's regiment, and taken back to Nancy.

The Marquis *de Bouillé*, Commander of the Province, being informed of theſe circumſtances, collected the few troops that remained faithful within his reach, and added to them 600 grenadiers of the National Guards of Metz, and a body of artillery, with only eight pieces of cannon. With this little army, which conſiſted of 3000 foot and 1400 horſe, he marched againſt Nancy, where the garriſon having received a reinforcement of 2000 National Guards from the neighbouring departments, amounted to 10,000 men. He halted within five miles of

of the town, and on the 30th of Auguſt ſent a proclamation, of which the ſubſtance was, that being authoriſed by the Decree of the Aſſembly of the 15th of the ſame month to employ the military force to ſuppreſs the exceſſes committed by ſome ſoldiers who had revolted againſt the laws, and being anxious above all things to avoid the effuſion of innocent blood, he invited the National Guard of Nancy, the good citizens, and the loyal ſoldiers to join him, and the ſoldiers miſled by the Factious to return to their duty, and deliver up to him the ringleaders of the rebellion. He granted them twenty-four hours to anſwer this proclamation.

On the ſame day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the town and garriſon of Nancy ſent him a deputation, compoſed of inhabitants choſen by the loweſt claſs of the people, and of ſoldiers from the different regiments: at their head were the principal members of the Department, and of the Municipality, whom they had forced to accompany them by threats of hanging them if they refuſed. *M. de Bouillé* received this deputation in a large court, ſurrounded by his ſoldiers. He told the deputies of the troops of the line that he required that the three regiments

ſhould

ſhould leave the town, and deliver up the leaders of the inſurrection conformably to the Decree of the Aſſembly; that he required moreover that the two General Officers detained in priſon ſhould be ſet at liberty, that the gates of the town ſhould be opened to the army under his command, and that the cannon in the hands of the mutineers ſhould be given up to him. The members of the Department and of the Municipality were terrified and remained ſilent; but the deputies of the regiments aſſumed ſo inſolent a tone, and ſpoke with ſuch contempt of *M. de Bouillé's* orders, that it required all the General's authority to reſtrain the rage of the grenadiers about him, and to prevent them from cutting the villains to pieces. *M. de Bouillé* diſmiſſed this deputation, telling them that he ſhould immediately march with his army, and that the mutineers muſt expect to be treated with the greateſt rigour. The members of the Department and of the Municipality having cauſed him to be privately informed that they ſhould be in the greateſt danger if they returned to the town, he did them the ſervice to order them to remain with him.

The army was within a mile and half of the

the town, when a ſecond deputation arrived from the regiments, accompanied by the officers, whom the ſoldiers had forced along with them. *M. de Bouillé* gave the ſame anſwer, and laid the ſame injunctions upon them as before. They deſired an hour to conſider of it, which he granted, and at the expiration of it ordered his van guard to march to one gate of the town, which was defended by troops and inhabitants, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. It was then four o'clock. A third deputation going out of the town by another gate now came up to the General, requeſted him to ſtop his army, and aſſured him that his orders ſhould be obeyed; that the regiments were leaving the town, and that the two General Officers were to be given up to him. In fact, theſe officers arrived a few minutes after, and at the ſame time the regiments that compoſed the garriſon were ſeen marching out of the town.

M. de Bouillé was overjoyed at finding this affair ſo happily terminated, and was converſing upon it with *M. de Noue*, *M. de Malſeigne*, and ſome of the principal inhabitants, when the populace and a great many ſoldiers who had not followed their colours, on being ſummoned to give up the gate,

gate, entered into a quarrel with the advanced guard, compoſed of National Volunteers and Swiſs, and were going to fire upon them from a cannon loaded with canniſter ſhot, and planted at the gateway. A young officer of the King's regiment prevented them for ſome time, by fixing himſelf at the mouth of the cannon, from which he could not be moved till he had been ſhot at four times. The cannon was then fired, and a volley of ſmall arms diſcharged at the ſame time upon the advanced guard. Fifty or ſixty men were killed by this unexpected act of hoſtility. The volunteers return the fire and force the gate; they are no longer to be reſtrained, they put every man they meet to death, and are themſelves fired upon from cellars, windows, and the tops of houſes. *M. de Bouillé* leads his troops to the ſquare, and draws them up in order of battle. The King's regiment, who had left the town, hearing the report of the guns, believed there had been ſome treachery and returned. Fortunately the officers prevailed upon their ſoldiers to march immediately to their quarters, and wait in order of battle till they were attacked. Had they joined in the fight upon re-entering the town the conſequence would

have been a dreadful carnage, and the rebels being three times ſuperior in number, would probably have remained maſters of the day.

M. de Bouillé drawing off his men from the ſquare, marched them by different ſtreets to the arſenal and the quarters of the regiments, and a furious battle enſued between his army and the rebels, which laſted three hours. At length, at ſeven in the evening, the ſoldiers of the regiment *de Chateau-vieux* being almoſt all killed, wounded, or taken priſoners, and that of *Meſtre-de-Camp* having fled, the King's regiment ſent word to *M. de Bouillé* that they would ſurrender. The men were all under arms when the General went to their quarters alone, and found them very repentant: he ordered them to leave the town, and march to the place he had appointed for them. He ſent the ſame orders to the remains of the regiment *de Chateau-vieux*, and all obeyed without the leaſt reſiſtance. *M. de Bouillé* then went immediately to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and reinſtated the Department and Municipality in their employments. From that moment order was reſtored in the town.

The wiſdom, ability, and courage which *M. de Bouillé* diſplayed this day, were

crowned with the moſt complete ſucceſs. He was perhaps the only officer in France, who, with ſo inferior a force, would have attempted ſuch a hazardous enterpriſe. Had he failed, it is more than probable that the regiments and populace of every garriſon town would have followed the example of Nancy, and of courſe that murder and robbery would have deſolated the principal towns of the kingdom. In this point of view, no doubt it was, that the King, who abhorred all injuſtice, who ſhuddered at the thought of ſhedding blood, and who in every thing, and above every thing, conſidered the happineſs of his ſubjects, was ſo extremely affected by the ſervice *M. de Bouillé* had done on this occaſion, and for which he thanked him in a letter replete with kindneſs and affection *. On the other hand, however, had the rebels at Nancy triumphed, there is little doubt but that the credit of the Aſſembly, already in a very tottering ſtate, would have been completely overthrown. The efficacy of their decrees in unhinging every thing, and their inability to re-eſtabliſh order, or the ſafety of perſon and of property, would have been more

* See Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

demonſtrated

demonſtrated than ever. An Aſſembly that could neither effect nor plan any thing but evil would have been ſcouted, and a ſimple motion at the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine* would have ſufficed to have inſtigated the populace to drive them out of Paris; and this was the reaſon why the Conſtitutionaliſts, who were very ſenſible of the dangers that threatened them, were not leſs ſatisfied than the King with the ſucceſs of *M. de Bouillé* *. Had the Aſſembly been thus diſſolved, the friends of order and of peace, and all men of property in the kingdom would have been forced to the alternative of leaving their property and their lives at the diſcretion of that monſtrous uſurping power, ever thirſting for blood and plunder, in a word of Jacobiniſm; or of placing them under the beneficent, reſtorative, and legitimate protection of the royal authority, the re-eſtabliſhment of which would have been inſtantly effected ſimply by their coalition with the Nobility, the Clergy, the faithful ſervants of the King, and with all the enemies of the Revolution and of the Jacobins. *M. Necker*, ſo diſcredited at that

* See *M. de la Fayette's* letter to *M. de Bouillé*, in the Memoirs of the latter.

period that he could no longer even ſupport himſelf in the good graces of that Aſſembly for whom he had done ſo much, muſt inevitably have been involved in their fall: but *M. de St. Prieſt* would have remained in the Miniſtry, and his energy, diſencumbered from all the ſhackles of an abjured conſtitution, would have been ſufficient to overthrow the Jacobins, and with them the *Orleans* faction, who were exciting the army to rebellion by the manœuvres of their emiſſaries, with no other object than that of doing miſchief; for it was impoſſible that they could hope to gain it over to a chief ſo completely a cypher as the Duke was. In ſhort, it has been but too clearly proved that the reſult of the affair at Nancy did not ſave the Monarchy, and it is not altogether improbable that a different reſult might have been of advantage to it.

The dangers to which the inſurrection of the troops expoſed the Revolution did not eſcape *Mirabeau*; he propoſed the moſt effectual means of obviating them; and particularly that "of diſbanding the army, and of immediately recompoſing it of the ſame individuals according to the organization decreed by the National Aſſembly, and ſanctioned

ſanctioned by the King, yet admitting only ſuch ſoldiers and officers as took an oath of fulfilling the duties attached to their profeſſion in the manner to be preſcribed by the Aſſembly." This motion was greatly applauded; but as the important meaſure which was the object of it could not take place till after the organization of the army, and there yet remained two reports to be made to conclude it, it was poſtponed till then.

The firſt articles of the plan for organizing the army had been drawn up according to the ſcheme delivered to the Military Committee by the Miniſter of War, and the Aſſembly had decreed them. By theſe it was fixed, that from the 1ſt of January 1791, the French army was to conſiſt of 150,848 men, reckoning both officers and ſoldiers: of this number 16,139 were to be artillery and engineers, and 26,000 foreign troops. The number of general officers to be employed was limited to 94.

It was equally neceſſary to be expeditious in preventing or ſuppreſſing inſurrections in the ports, and on board of the ſhips, as in the garriſons; and the meaſure propoſed by *Mirabeau* was ſtill leſs adapted to the navy

than to the army. In fact, the Aſſembly had done nothing yet as to a plan of new organization for the navy, which was not even drawn up; but they notwithſtanding put an end to all ſubordination in the fleets, on board the ſhips, and in the ports, by abrogating the old maritime penal laws, under pretence of their being incompatible with the principles of a free conſtitution, and by ſubſtituting a new code which entirely ſtripped the officers of the power of puniſhing their men, except in caſes of mutiny, cowardice, or diſobedience, in preſence of an enemy: In no other caſe was corporal puniſhment permitted, but by the deciſion of a *naval jury*, to conſiſt of four of the delinquent's Officers, and three of his comrades; and no puniſhment whatever was to be inflicted, unleſs determined by at leaſt five votes out of ſeven.

The code entitled *Penal* was rather a formal invitation to diſorder and mutiny, and might more juſtly have been entitled the code of impunity. Far from protecting the Officers from the inſults and ill-treatment they now experienced from a claſs of men, from whom they had before that time received only reſpect and obedience, it expoſed them without defence to all their outrages.

Could

Could thoſe brave Officers, ſo eminent for their talents, and for their long and glorious ſervices, ſubmit without ſhame, or with any advantage to their Country, to ſo diſguſting a ſtate of degradation? certainly not; nor were they ſuppoſed capable of it; but they were gentlemen, they were true to honour and to their King, and could not be inſtrumental to the Revolution; it was therefore neceſſary to ſacrifice them, although the total deſtruction of the French Navy muſt be the conſequence of it; for it is not with the ſea as with the land-ſervice, and the Nation has but too dearly learned that the place of the beſt General of the army is a thouſand times more eaſily ſupplied than that of a ſimple Lieutenant of a man of war. And what a moment too was it to chooſe for ſuch an overthrow! When conſiderable equipments in England, and a difference between that Court and Spain obliged France to keep up a commanding naval force; when the Aſſembly themſelves, convinced of the neceſſity of placing our navy on the moſt formidable footing, had decreed "that the King ſhould be requeſted to give orders for augmenting the fleets in commiſſion to forty-five ſail of the

line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other veſſels."

With the new code and revolutionary Admirals, theſe forty-five ſhips of the line would have been forty-five floating republics, of which the Engliſh fleets would have completely cleared the ſea on the firſt occaſion.

While the National Aſſembly, thus hurried away by the moſt fatal delirium, were attacking at once all ancient inſtitutions, and all property, were annihilating the Army, the Navy, the Magiſtracy, and were deſtroying or diſorganizing every thing, under pretence of re-conſtructing or re-organizing all; and while the Jacobin Clubs were propagating throughout the kingdom the fermentation and alarms which agitated the Capital, ſome moments of delight and comfort were experienced by worthy ſpirits, from an addreſs ſent from Bearn, which was dictated by the pureſt loyalty, and moſt affecting ſenſibility. The object of the addreſs was this: the Aſſembly having declared that the domains of the Crown, the foreſts, caſtles, royal ſeats, &c. formed a part of the national property, had ordered them to be put up to ſale, thoſe excepted which the King

King ſhould think neceſſary to keep for his own uſe, or for that of his family. His Majeſty had in conſequence been applied to for a liſt of the Royal ſeats he thought proper to reſerve. This liſt being ſent to the Committee of the Domains, had become an object of the groſs ſarcaſms of all the Revolutionary Journaliſts, and of the moſt ſcandalous declamations among the groups of the *Palais-Royal*, and at the Club of Jacobins *. The *good* Pariſians thought the King aſked too much; the WORTHY Bearneſe thought he did not aſk enough, and ſolicited him in the moſt affecting manner to add the Caſtle of Pau to the liſt of thoſe he had reſerved. In the addreſs preſented to the King by the Deputies from Bearn, the following expreſſion was remarked, and re-peruſed with

* This liſt contained the following royal ſeats and domains: the Louvre, the Thuilleries, and houſes belonging to them; the Champs Elizées, Vincennes, La Muette, Choiſy le Roi, Verſailles, Marly, St. Cloud, Meudon, St. Germain, with the houſes and lands appendant; Fontainebleau, Compiegne, Rambouillet, with the eccleſiaſtical property lying within it, and the woods of the Abbaye de Barbaux, though on the other ſide of the water; Chambord, the eſtate of Le Pain in Normandy, the eſtate of Pompadour in Limouſin. The two laſt eſtates were appropriated to the breed of horſes.

pleaſure:

pleaſure: "We renounced our Conſtitution, becauſe your Majeſty deſired it, and the happineſs of France required it; but the Bearneſe are extremely grieved to ſee that the cradle of the good King *Henry* is to be ſet up to ſale: his caſtle is dearer to them than fortune or life."

The King, greatly affected by this addreſs, added the Caſtle of Pau to the liſt, and ſtruck out ſeveral others, hoping by that means to put an end to the inſolent clamours that were made, and with impunity, under his very windows. His Majeſty wrote a letter to the Aſſembly on this occaſion in the following terms:

Paris, Auguſt 27.

"GENTLEMEN,

"You know that it was not till after I had been repeatedly urged by you that I interpoſed in the ſettlement of my Civil Liſt, and in the laſt place that I mentioned the Palaces and Domains to be reſerved for me. I underſtand that the liſt I ſent to you by *M. de St. Prieſt*, containing theſe objects, has given grounds to miſinterpretations.

"I think I have no occaſion to put you in mind of the little importance I attach to all that concerns my own intereſts, or my perſonal

perſonal pleaſures, and how much I make them yield to the public intereſt.

"I willingly relinquiſh a great part of the places inſerted, though there were ſeveral choſen from motives of public utility, or to preſerve agreeable walks for the inhabitants of Paris: but I ſhall confine myſelf to the following. The Louvre and the Thuilleries, with the houſes depending upon them, and which are the more neceſſary for me, as my uſual reſidence will be at Paris; Verſailles, Fontainebleau, Compiegne, St. Cloud, St. Germain, and Rambouillet, with the domains and woods appendant. You will alſo think it very natural that I ſhould have it at heart to keep the Caſtle of Pau, which produces no revenue: it is impoſſible for me not to concur in the wiſh of the inhabitants of Bearn, that the place where *Henry IV.* was born ſhould always remain in the hands of his children.

"I relinquiſh alſo the eccleſiaſtical property lying within the bounds of my domains, and which I thought ſuitable to a pious foundation which I am planning.

"As to my chaſes, about which you have deſired to know my intentions, *I am particularly ſolicitous of enjoying no pleaſures*

pleaſures that may be burdenſome to any of my ſubjects: I entirely truſt to the arrangements you may think it neceſſary to adopt; and I beg you never to forget *that my greateſt intereſts are thoſe of the Nation, and the comfort of the people: it is theſe that affect me moſt eſſentially, and which I feel truly perſonal.*

(Signed) "Louis."

Such was the warm affection which *Louis XVI.* conſtantly manifeſted for his people, and which neither the ingratitude nor the crimes of that deluded Nation could ever weaken. The veil which concealed thoſe of the 5th and 6th of October 1789, was about to be drawn: the Committee of Reports had demanded in the Sitting of the 31ſt of Auguſt to be authoriſed to cauſe the proceedings of the Chatelet relative to thoſe outrages to be printed, in order to put the Aſſembly in full poſſeſſion of the circumſtances to enable them to decide upon the account which was ſoon to be laid before them. It was already known what was to be the reſult of the Report of this Committee, entirely compoſed of revolutionary fanatics, or villains largely paid by the Duke of *Orleans*, ſo

ſo that *Mirabeau* was in this reſpect perfectly ſafe: but he feared that if the proceedings ſhould be printed before the report, the ſhamefulneſs of it might be ſo evident as to render the iſſue of the buſineſs very doubtful. "Conſider, Gentlemen," cried he, "that it will require a long time to print "twelve hundred rolls of proceedings; that "this buſineſs demands the greateſt diſ-"patch; and that conſequently the Com-"mittee ſhould make their report as ſoon as "ever they are ready to ſubmit it to us. "They wiſh to publiſh the vouchers firſt "for the information of the public: this "intention is upright; but is it juſt to leave "the accuſed for many weeks more under, I "will not ſay anguiſh, but the odious ſuſ-"picions caſt upon them? I cannot be ſuſ-"pected of ſecret motives in the remon-"ſtrances I ſubmit to your juſtice on this "point, becauſe in the end all will be "known. As to that," added he with matchleſs effrontery, "it is all the ſame to "me—I ſay all the ſame, for my modeſty "is not ſo great as to prevent me from ſee-"ing *that in the arraignment and trial "of the Revolution I muſt have a place.*" This remarkable expreſſion, by which *Mirabeau*

rabeau not only confeſſed himſelf guilty, but gloried in it, obtained twice the general plaudits of the gallery, and of a great part of the Aſſembly.

Here then we have the ſecret of thoſe horrid days completely diſcloſed, and irrevocably proved. The crimes with which they were ſtained can no longer be conſidered as an accidental occurrence of the Revolution; they entered eſſentially into its plan: they were at once the principle and the means of it, and formed a horrible coaleſcence with it, which will reflect an indelible ſhame upon its authors, upon their accomplices, and all their adherents.

The Aſſembly adopted *Mirabeau's* motion: they ordered the proceedings of the Chatelet to be printed, but decreed at the ſame time that the report of the buſineſs ſhould not be delayed on that account. It was alſo decreed at the ſame Sitting, that the Members who had been examined on the information ſhould not vote on the judgment. This deciſion was conformable to the rules, ſo far as it concerned thoſe whoſe depoſitions went to criminate, or to exculpate the two Deputies alluded to by the Chatelet; but there was evidently no cauſe for it as to thoſe who

who had made no mention, direct or indirect, of one or the other; and the more ſo, as the point was *not* to paſs a judgment on an accuſation tried, but only to determine whether there were or were not grounds for an accuſation. It is true too, that by excluding a great many worthy and intrepid members from voting, the majority was ſtill farther ſecured to the *Coté-Gauche*, and this motive was doubtleſs of the greateſt weight.

On this occaſion another frank remark eſcaped from *Mirabeau*, which was very highly applauded by the *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries, and which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. One of the Members of the Aſſembly having propoſed that it ſhould be aſcertained in the firſt place whether the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet had cauſed the Decrees paſſed in reſpect to their proceedings againſt certain perſons to be put in execution or not, *Mirabeau* replied, and twice repeated, that the flight of the witneſſes was at leaſt as probable as that of the accuſed; "and yet," added he gaily, "the accuſed take no meaſures to prevent the flight of the witneſſes." His remark was but too juſt; the witneſſes in fact incurred

curred much more danger than the accuſed: theſe were agents protected by the Revolution, and thoſe could not fail to be objects of its vengeance.

Of the eminent accomplices of this Revolution *Mr. Necker* was almoſt the only one it no longer protected. At this period he miſerably terminated his miniſterial career, after ſwallowing to the very dregs the bitter cup of humiliation which his fooliſh vanity had but too much merited. He did not even obtain the honour of ſettling the time of his retreat, ſo pathetically announced for four months in the perorations of all his memorials. He was compelled to a precipitate flight, in order to eſcape the fury of that very populace whoſe idol he had been. The vexations he ſuffered in the end, preſent too important a leſſon to be neglected by hiſtory.

During the laſt two months of his miniſtry, *Mr. Necker* experienced almoſt every day the pain of finding himſelf attacked in the newſpapers, and in the Aſſembly, ſometimes by the bitterеſt ſarcaſms, and nobody bore this kind of attack leſs philoſophically than he, and ſometimes by charges more or leſs ſerious, which he could not avoid an-

ſwering. Thus, while the wits ridiculed the letter which he ſent with his account from the month of May 1789, to the month of May 1790, and in which he confeſſed *that he could not anſwer for the arithmetical part* of that account of fifteen hundred millions, and offered only *to be ſurety for the moral part*, the Committee of Finances rejected all his plans, the ſpeakers on both ſides of the houſe oppoſed them, and the indefatigable cenſurer, *Camus*, had every day ſome new quarrel to pick with *M. Necker*. The Miniſter complained heavily of this, but to no purpoſe, in a juſtification which he addreſſed on the 1ſt of Auguſt to the Aſſembly: "Every day," ſaid he, "renders my adminiſtration more painful, and as the moment is at hand when I ſhall retire from the world, and from buſineſs, I wiſh if any charges yet remain againſt me, that they may be brought forward; I am afraid of no proof."—"Since he is going away," ſaid the more moderate, "let him go in peace."

Mr. Necker, however, did not go, and on the 17th of the ſame month he ſent another memorial to the Aſſembly relative to the Decrees on the Penſions. The reading

of it was frequently interrupted by murmurs, which were violently increaſed at the following expreſſion: "Is it conformable to your principles to beſtow the diſpoſal of favours on the Legiſlative Body, and by ſo doing completely enfeeble the Government, which could not diſpoſe of the pettyeſt office?" There was a general cry for the order of the day; and on the Preſident's inviting the Aſſembly to hear the memorial of the King's Miniſter to the end, a Deputy of the *Tiers-Etat* oppoſed it with the whole force of his lungs. "We are not obliged," cried he, "to hear theſe miniſterial inſolences." However, the reading of the memorial was continued; but ſcarcely was it finiſhed when the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, without even doing this memorial the honour of referring it to one of their Committees, a compliment which they had hitherto paid to all the memorials of the Miniſters. The Preſident had at firſt pronounced this uſeleſs reference, but he was compelled by the loudeſt remonſtrances to put it to the vote, and by a great majority it was determined that they ſhould ſimply paſs to the order of the day.

Mr. Necker, who was for ever ſpeaking of

of his departure without ever being able to put it in execution, ſent another memorial ten days after to the Aſſembly, relative to a report which he had heard that the Committee of Finances intended to make on the public debt, and in which they meant to propoſe a creation of 18 or 1900 millions of Aſſignats for the payment of the unfunded debt. He obſerved that as this plan had not been communicated to him, he fulfilled his duty towards the State and the National Aſſembly by declaring that he had given no ſupport to this meaſure, and by manifeſting his uneaſineſs at the difficulties that muſt reſult from it.

This memorial is certainly one of the beſt *M. Necker* ever compoſed. He there proved, by irrefragable arguments founded on experience, on the ſimpleſt calculation, and on the moſt evident principles, that the meaſure projected was equally unjuſt and impolitic, and as diſaſtrous to the State as to the Nation. "Is this the time," ſaid he, "and are we in circumſtances to ſtake ſo dangerouſly the preſent againſt the future? The idea of converting the public debt into Aſſignats, and to conſtrain it in this manner to be exchanged

for national domains is great, but morality is ſtill greater; and whatever departs from its principles is rather a remarkable deviation than a grand thought."

The idea of being the creators of ſo prodigious a maſs of riches was too flattering to the vanity of many of the Members of the Aſſembly, and the covetouſneſs of others built too much hope on private ſpeculations, and even on the chances of extravagance which ſo immenſe an emiſſion might offer, to ſuffer either of theſe deſcriptions of men to be otherwiſe than extremely diſſatisfied with the Miniſter's memorial. It was heard, however, without a murmur; but it was no ſooner read through than the Aſſembly, without referring it to the Committee, or paying the leaſt attention whatever to it, broke up the Sitting. *Mr. Necker's* enemies obſerved with uneaſineſs that he had forgotten to mention his departure, and fearing that he might have given up the thought of it, ſoon took effectual ſteps to revive his reſolution.

On the 2d of September, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, dreadful noiſes were heard about the Hall, and in the garden of

of the Thuilleries, where there was an immenſe croud, which had been aſſembling ever ſince five o'clock in the morning, and which was joined by the permanent groups of the *Palais Royal*. The cries moſt diſtinctly heard amidſt their imprecations were, *Death to De Bouillé*, and *diſmiſs the Miniſters*. The clamours of tumult roſe to ſuch a pitch, that it was feared the doors of the Hall would be forced; but the National Guard being doubled, repreſſed thoſe ſeditious movements by their firmneſs, prudence, and activity. The fermentation appeared to be appeaſed for ſome hours; but towards night new riots were made, and the ſtreets rung with vociferations. This revolutionary farce was only played off to frighten *M. Necker*, and he was completely duped by it. At eight o'clock at night *M. de la Fayette* ſent an Aid-de-Camp to him, to appriſe him of the danger that threatened him, and to adviſe him to leave his houſe. Accompanied by this Aid-de-Camp, he left Paris as ſecretly as poſſible, and fled for ſhelter to his country-houſe at St. Ouen. His arriving at ſo late an hour, and ſo unexpectedly, having cauſed ſome buſtle in the

village, though merely of curioſity, he was afraid to go to bed at home, and wandered the whole night in the valley of Montmorenci. What torment could be more dreadful than that which he muſt have experienced at this moment of horror, when all the illuſions of ſelf-love, all the chimeras of ambition, vaniſhing like an empty ſhadow, left him a prey to his recollection, his regret, his merited remorſe. He could not now dignify his diſgrace by imputing it to a court intrigue; he was ignominiouſly driven away by general cenſure, by public contempt. He returned to Paris the next morning, and ſet out that very day to go and drink the waters at Plombieres. Before his departure, he finally announced his retreat to the Aſſembly by the following letter:

"Gentlemen, My health has long been in a declining ſtate, from a continual ſucceſſion of labours attended with pain and uneaſineſs. I nevertheleſs deferred, from day to day, a plan I had formed of taking advantage of the fine ſeaſon of the year to go and drink the waters which have been preſcribed as abſolutely neceſſary for me. Liſtening

Liſtening only to my zeal, I had entered upon another extraordinary labour, in compliance with the wiſh of the Aſſembly, which was expreſſed to me by the Committee of Finances; but a return of the complaints, from which I was in great danger laſt winter, and the extreme uneaſineſs of a wife, as virtuous as ſhe is dear to my heart, have determined me to delay no longer my plan of retreat, and of returning to the aſylum I quitted in obedience to your orders. You are now approaching the term of your ſeſſions, and I am not in a ſtate to enter upon a new career.

"The Aſſembly demanded of me an account of the receipts and diſburſements of the public treaſury from the 1ſt of July 1789, to May 1790. It was delivered to them on the 21ſt of July laſt.

"The Aſſembly have charged their Committee of Finances to examine it, and ſeveral Members of the Committee have divided the work amongſt them. I think they would have already diſcovered it, if there appeared any expence, or other arrangement, liable to cenſure; which is the only inquiry that eſſentially concerns the Miniſter: for the cal-

culations of the particulars, the inſpection of the vouchers, the examination of receipts, which neceſſarily require much time, are particularly applicable to the management of the payers, receivers, and other perſons accountable.

" However, I offer and leave as a ſecurity for my adminiſtration my houſe in Paris, my country-houſe, and my funds in the Royal Treaſury: the amount of theſe have long been 2,400,000 livres, from which I deſire to take only 400,000 livres, as the ſituation of my affairs on quitting Paris renders that ſum neceſſary for me: the remainder I leave without fear under the protection of the Nation. I cannot but feel an intereſt in preſerving the remembrance of a depoſit from which I think I derive ſome honour, as I placed thoſe funds in the Treaſury at the beginning of the laſt war, and as through conſideration to the continual wants of the State I never withdrew them, not even in the moſt alarming circumſtances, in which others had the adminiſtration of affairs.

" The enmity and injuſtice I have experienced gave me the idea of offering a ſecurity; but when I compare the thought with my

my conduct in the adminiſtration of the finances, I cannot but reckon it among the extraordinary circumſtances of my life.

(Signed) "NECKER."

"*P. S.* The ſufferings I experience at this moment prevent my adding in this letter the various opinions which on this occaſion I could have wiſhed to have interſperſed."

This letter being delivered to the Preſident on the 3d of September, juſt as the Sitting was about to be adjourned, was not read till the day following. It was heard with indifference by ſome, and with unequivocal marks of pleaſure by others; unmixed with a ſingle regret, a ſingle expreſſion of concern or eſteem for the fugitive Miniſter *. The Aſſembly thought only of ſeizing his ſpoils, and

* About fifty leagues from Paris *M. Necker* was arreſted by the Municipality of Arcis on the Aube, on ſuſpicion of attempting to withdraw from his reſponſibility. He wrote the humbleſt and moſt reſpectful repreſentation to the Aſſembly, beſeeching them to order that he ſhould be ſuffered to proceed upon his journey. His letter was read to the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 4th of September, and it was decreed that his Municipality ſhould be ordered to ſet him at liberty. The Aſſembly at the ſame time adopted the form of a letter to be written by their Preſident to *Mr. Necker*, and which was in the coldeſt and moſt

and without giving the King time to nominate a ſucceſſor to *Mr. Necker*, they immediately decreed that their Committees of Conſtitution and Finances ſhould, without delay, preſent a plan for the organization and management of the public revenue.

On the ſame day the Committee of Finances charged to preſent a plan for the liquidation of the national debt publiſhed a very circumſtantial account of it, which is the more requiſite to be known, as it ſtates very accurately the ſituation of France at that period.

This account is divided into three parts, and the following is a ſketch of it.

The firſt part contains ſtatements of the debt, of which the principal is ſunk, provided the Government pays the intereſt punctually.

The ſecond contains ſtatements of the debt then demandable, or which would be made ſo by the decrees ſuppreſſing all places that had been purchaſed.

moſt mortifying ſtyle. He did not receive it till the 12th of the month, when he immediately continued his journey. He was again ſtopped by the people at Vitſoul; but the Municipality interfered, and on his making the Decree of the Aſſembly known to them, ſuffered him to depart.

The

The third includes ſtatements of the debt, of which the principal was to be paid annually, by virtue of agreements at fixed periods ſettled at the time of the loans.

The funded debt was compoſed, 1ſt, of the annuities, the total amount of which was 106,324,846. According to the Committee we may eſtimate the extinctions of 1788, 1789, and 1790, at 4,500,000: ſo that on the 1ſt of January 1791, the annuities muſt have been reduced to 101,824,846 livres. 2d, The perpetual dividends, of which the total amount was 65,913,973 livres. The intereſt of the funded debt, both annuities and perpetual dividends, amounted then to 167,737,819 livres.

* The debt, of which the principal was

* *Mr. Necker* aſſerted in a Memorial which he ſent to the Aſſembly ſome days after his departure, and which was read in the Sitting of the 17th of September, that the arrears due to the Departments, the offices of the magiſtracy, and the military houſes of the King, Queen, and Princes, were the only debts demandable, and of which the liquidation might be begun without delay. He refuſed the Committee's plan, and propoſed inſtead of a creation of two thouſand millions of Aſſignats, to confine themſelves to admitting in payment for national property all public contracts and ſecurities relating to the national debt.

to

to be paid, included in the ſecond part of the Committee's account, was compoſed, 1ſt, of the rent-charges granted by the clergy, the payment of which was thought indiſpenſable by the Committee to give validity to the ſale of the eſtates on which they were ſecured. The principal of theſe rent-charges was 149,434,469 livres, and the intereſt 5,833,126 livres, that is, 1,638,597 livres and 9 ſols under what it would have been at 5 per cent.

2dly, Of the price paid for the offices of the magiſtracy now ſuppreſſed, which the Committee eſtimated at 450,000,000 livres, and of which the intereſt paid by the Treaſury was only 9,353,160 livres, that is, 13,146,840 livres leſs than it would have been at the rate of 5 per cent.

3dly, Of the price paid for the offices of Finance, amounting to 118,143,885 livres.

4thly, Of ſecurities for money, of which the principal amounted to 203,401,400 livres.

5thly, Of the money paid for the employments in the houſehold of the King, Queen, and Princes, amounting to the ſum of 52,000,000 livres.

6thly, Of the money paid for the military employments and poſts, the principal of which was 35,121,984 livres.

7thly,

7thly, Of the money paid for Governments and Lieutenantcies of Provinces, of which the principal was 3,783,150 livres.

8thly, Of the compenſation for the impropriations of feudal tithes, eſtimated by the Committee at a hundred millions.

9thly, Of the part of the reimburſements at certain periods become due, eſtimated as a principal of 107,856,925 livres.

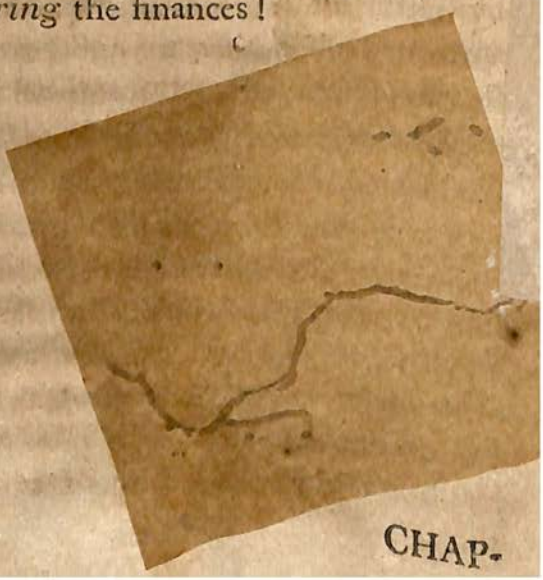
10thly, Of the arrears of the Departments, of which the principal was eſtimated at the ſum of 120,000,000 livres.

The total then of theſe ten articles of the demandable debt was 1,339,741,813 livres.

The third part, including the debt of which the principal was to be paid annually by virtue of agreements at fixed periods, amounted altogether to 538,274,921 livres. It was compoſed, 1ſt, of the loan of September 1789—51,939,768 livres. 2dly, Of the loans of Holland and Genoa, 18,330,970 livres. 3dly, Of the advances made by the farmers of Sceaux and of Poiſſy, 902,675 livres. 4thly, Of the loans nearly due, 390,101,508 livres. 5thly, Of the annuities of the notaries and of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, 77,000,000 livres.

Thus the debt to be paid amounted in the whole

whole to 1,878,16,734 livres: upon which I ſhall only obſerve, that the eight firſt articles of the ſecond chapter, which amounted to 1,111,834,888 livres, were not demandable debts till rendered ſo by the ſpoliations and ſuppreſſions reſulting from the Decrees of the Aſſembly; and that the reimburſement of them, at a time when money was at leaſt at 5 per cent. added to the maſs of intereſt which the State had to pay, 1ſt, on the article of the rents granted by the Clergy, 1,638,597 livres 9 ſols; 2dly, on the offices of the magiſtracy, 13,146,840 livres; 3dly, on the impropriations of feudal tithes, 5,000,000 livres: in the whole, 19,785,437 livres 9 ſols. And this was what thoſe gentlemen called *reſtoring* the finances!



CHAP.

CHAPTER XXX.

Arts uſed by the Jacobins in exciting Inſurrections—They are denounced to the Aſſembly—The inſufficiency of the Meaſures adopted—Inſurrection at Breſt—Irruption of ſome Thouſands of Brigands into the Park of Verſailles—The King determines to give up his Hunt—Conduct of the Aſſembly on that Occaſion—The King's Anſwer—Vexatious Proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry—Arreſt of Madame de Perſan—Pretended Conſpiracy at Turin—Camp at Jalès—Plan for Liquidation of the National Debt—Extraordinary Project propoſed by M. d'Eſprémenil on that occaſion—Report upon the Proceedings of the Chatelet concerning the Outrages

of

of the 6th of October—M. de Bonnai refutes the Calumnies which the Reporter thought proper to introduce againſt the Gardes du Corps—Mirabeau's Defence—Motions by M. de Montlauzier and the Abbé Maury—The Coté-Droit take no part in the Debate—The Aſſembly declare that there are no Grounds for Accuſation againſt the Duke of Orleans, or Mirabeau—Noble Conduct of the Queen.

THE ſeditious movements which had compelled the Miniſter at the head of the Finances to take flight, were very ſoon appeaſed after his departure. But as they had not been preceded by any apparent cauſe, or any circumſtance of a nature to irritate the people, no perſon doubted but that this fermentation, evidently a contrived one, was raiſed by the enemies of *Mr. Necker*; that is to ſay, by the principal members of the *Coté-Gauche*, aided by the Club of Jacobins, who conducted the *department of inſurrections*. The arts uſed to produce it were very ſimple, and attended with very little expence. *Dupont de Nemours* expoſed and denounced them to the Aſſembly

Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 7th of September. The day and place where the inſurrection was to break out were announced publicly ſeveral days before-hand, ſometimes in the Revolutionary Journals, ſometimes by bills poſted up in the Fauxbourgs, the public gardens, and other places, and which were frequently ſent to a great diſtance, according to the degree of force they wiſhed to give to the commotion. The following was the form of thoſe placards, which were alſo often diſtributed as hand-bills under the title of *Advice to the People, to the Patriots*, &c. &c. &c.

" There will happen on *ſuch a day* at
" . . . . . a great commotion . . . . .
" aſſaſſinations . . . . . a rich pillage,
" preceded by a manual diſtribution
" for the ſubaltern chiefs, *for tried*
" *men*," &c. &c.

This advertiſement was ſufficient to ſet in motion all the brigands to whoſe knowledge it came; they repaired to the appointed place, and mixed with the groups already formed by 30 or 40 mob-orators, choſen from amongſt the moſt violent, and by ſome

hundreds of noiſy bawlers hired for the occaſion, and who were ſoon joined by the crowd of idlers and blockheads who form the rabble of great towns. *The patriotic gratuity to ſtanch followers* was commonly half-a-crown, or five ſhillings, according to their ſituation and ſervices. In extraordinary caſes it was doubled. Truſty agents mingling with the crowd alſo invited ſuch as had joined for amuſement, or who were volunteers, to add their clamours to the vociferations of the inſurgent groups, and offered them twelve livres to engage in the buſineſs. Several depoſitions, taken at the Mayor's office, and by the Officers of the National Guard, ſtated that in the inſurrection of the 2d of September this offer had been made to many worthy perſons, who had followed the multitude out of curioſity; and that the twelve livres had even been thruſt into the hands of ſeveral without any anſwer being required.

The Aſſembly, upon the formal denunciation of theſe circumſtances, paſſed a Decree, ordering proſecutions to be inſtituted in all the Courts againſt certain perſons, who, on Thurſday the 2d of September, had made motions for aſſaſſination under the windows

windows of the National Aſſembly; againſt the inſtigators of thoſe motions; and againſt thoſe who had diſtributed money for that purpoſe.

By the ſame Decree the Municipal Officers of Paris were ordered to attend carefully to the execution of the Decrees paſſed by the Aſſembly for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity. It was but too evident, however, that the old Courts, long rendered obnoxious to the people as being filled with Ariſtocrats and enemies of the Revolution, and now having but a ſhort time to exiſt, would not have the imprudence to expoſe themſelves without neceſſity to freſh reſentments, and perhaps even to great dangers, by commencing proſecutions and informations which they could not flatter themſelves they ſhould be able to terminate, and which their ſucceſſors, in their haſte to render themſelves popular, would not fail to ſet aſide. Beſides, what zeal againſt inſurrections could be expected from that Commune, who, making a diſtinction between the crimes of the 5th of October and thoſe of the day following, had even at the very time the effrontery to extol the former, and to accuſe the Chatelet, who had combined both days in

its proceedings, of arraigning the Revolution. It was therefore very evident, that notwithſtanding the Decree of the Aſſembly, inſurrections could neither be prevented nor quelled; and of courſe they ſpread and broke out in every part of the kingdom with greater violence than ever. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch as particularly attracted the attention of the Aſſembly.

At Breſt, the continual riots of the ſhipwrights cauſed the greateſt uneaſineſs. Four galley-ſlaves were arreſted at the moment they were going to ſet fire to the arſenal; They had made their way into the ſtore-houſe that contained the pitch and tar, and upon them was found a falſe key, a file, and two bundles of matches. Scarcely had the ſhip *Le Leopard,* in which the General Aſſembly of St. Domingo had eſcaped, entered Breſt, when its crew communicated the ſpirit of diſorder and revolt with which it was infected to all the ſhips of the ſquadron lying in the harbour. In a ſhort time the ſailors, turning the King's orders, the new code, and the Decrees of the Aſſembly into ridicule, refuſed to obey their Officers, and inſulted them moſt groſsly. "The ſtrongeſt are to make the laws," ſaid they, "and we are

the ſtrongeſt. *Vive la Nation!* Away with the Ariſtocrats, to the lantern!" They erected a gallows at the door of *M. de Marigny*, an Officer of high rank in the Navy, as eſtimable for his talents, courage and bravery, as for the energy of his character. *M. D'Albert de Rioms*, who had the command of the ſquadron, having tried in vain every means with the moſt moderate to bring them to reaſon, quitted his ſhip, and went aſhore. As he ſtepped into the boat, ſeveral of the ſeamen called to the cockſwain to overſet her. *M. de Marigny* gave in his reſignation, and applied for a court-martial; and *M. D'Albert* wrote to the Miniſter, that he abſolutely ſaw no other means of reſtoring order at Breſt, than by ſending thither a Commiſſion, compoſed of Members of the National Aſſembly.

The Aſſembly, who, upon all occaſions of this kind, had but two modes of proceeding, the one to declare themſelves *deeply afflicted*, the other to be *juſtly enraged*, though their grief was as little affecting as their indignation formidable, adopted the latter of theſe modes in the preſent caſe, and decreed that the King ſhould be entreated to order that proſecutions according to law ſhould be com-

menced againſt the principal authors of the inſurrection, and againſt thoſe who had inſulted *M. Marigny* and their Officers. This was ſending them before a maritime jury, by which their accomplices would be their judges; and it would have been as well not to have brought them to a trial. The Aſſembly did not judge it neceſſary or proper to ſend a deputation to Breſt, as propoſed by *M. D'Albert*; they contented themſelves with decreeing "that the King ſhould be "requeſted to appoint two Civil Commiſ-"ſioners, who ſhould be authoriſed to "take as aſſociates two Members of the "Municipality of Breſt, in order to con-"ſult upon what further meaſures might "be neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of "diſcipline and ſubordination in the fleet, "and of order in the town of Breſt."

The Commiſſioners could apply no remedy: they were no more reſpected than the Officers, and a fortnight afterwards *M. D'Albert* was obliged to give in his reſignation.

September 14th.] About the ſame period two or three thouſand brigands, armed with muſkets and clubs, forced the incloſures of the Great Park of Verſailles, threatened the

Palace, and committed all manner of havoc, not only in the King's liberties, but upon all the property within the Park.

The Municipal Officers of Verſailles denounced theſe diſorders, which had laſted four days, to the Aſſembly, and entreated them to employ the moſt effectual means to put a ſtop to them. In the mean time they were informed that the King had come to a reſolution to give up his Hunt. The Factious, ever ready to impute to the enemies of the Revolution the exceſſes which were the conſequences of it, did not on the preſent occaſion forego their uſual arts; they even pretended that the troubles at Verſailles were connected with thoſe at Breſt, Nancy, and other places; that they had all of them been preceded and excited by diſtributions of money, for the ſole purpoſe of ſullying a Revolution the moſt important, the moſt ſalutary, the moſt happy. The idea of the King's giving up his Hunt was equally attributed by *Charles de Lameth* to "perfidious counſellors, whoſe aim," ſaid he, "was to create diſguſt in the breaſt of every "Frenchman to the National Aſſembly, by "making him believe that they wiſhed to "deprive a King, whom they love, of an

" exercise in which he had always taken " great pleasure." He proposed, in consequence, to add to the Decree which the Assembly were about to pass relative to the disturbances at Versailles, an article enjoining the President to wait upon the King, and entreat him not to give up his Hunt; to assure him that the Assembly would use the whole force of the law in support of the personal enjoyments of the Monarch; and that they should be very sorry to find his Majesty foregoing them. In this manner was the Decree finally drawn up, which, from the known principle of those who supported it, and from its being almost unanimously adopted, was suspected of hypocrisy. But there was no appearance of it in the speech which the President of the Assembly *(Bureau de Puzy)* the same day made to the King, in presenting him the Decree: I shall only cite from it the following expressions.

" The National Assembly, grieved at the " determination which your Majesty has " taken to deprive yourself of some of the " amusements which afforded you recreation " and pleasure, dare to hope, Sire, that you " will relinquish the thought of this sacri- " fice, highly honourable indeed to you, " but

" but which would be too painful to an " affectionate people, whoſe happineſs is " inſeparable from the perſonal ſatisfaction " of the King. Deign, Sire, to give the " Repreſentatives of the Nation an ineſti- " mable token of your confidence and good- " neſs by ſanctioning this Decree, which " contains a proof of their anxiety to pleaſe " you: and, Sire, we conjure you not to " judge by the cautious and formal terms " which conſtitute the ſtyle of the law of the " degree of ſolicitude felt by the National " Aſſembly, that you ſhould yield to a wiſh " dictated by the pureſt reſpect, attachment, " and affection for the perſon of your Ma- " jeſty." The King replied with his uſual candour, " that as he had not taken the di- " verſion of hunting for a year paſt, and " as he did not intend it for ſome time to " come, he had thought himſelf bound in " the mean time to ſave the expences at- " tending his Hunt; but that hereafter, when " his heart was more at reſt, he ſhould re- " ſume it."

The printing of this anſwer and the Preſident's ſpeech was voted unanimouſly, either out of reſpect and in token of approbation, or to make the people believe that the uneaſineſs

eaſineſs experienced by the King was not to be imputed to the Aſſembly, but to the enemies of the Revolution. And where were the enemies of this horrible Revolution! As yet it could be ſaid only to have had victims; for thoſe who were diſſatisfied with it were without means, without leaders near them, without a rallying point; they were beſides kept in check by the King's ſituation, and could not be conſidered, whatever their number, as real and effective enemies. They deteſted the Revolution as lambs do wolves, and made as little reſiſtance to it: yet they were not the leſs conſtantly watched, purſued, accuſed, and arreſted, through the indefatigable diligence of the emiſſaries of the Committees of Inquiry, upon the ſlighteſt, and often upon the moſt groundleſs information. A letter written from Turin by the Abbé *de Cordon*, a Piedmonteſe, Count *de Lyon*, to the young Marchioneſs *de Perſan*, was found about the 15th of Auguſt in one of her pockets, which had been ſent to be waſhed, and was kept for three weeks by the perſon who waſhed for her, whoſe name was *Cuff*, and who could not read. At the end of that time this perſon ſhewed it to ſome goſſips in the neighbourhood to make out the meaning of it, and they,

they, after reading it, gave the patriotic counſel of depoſiting it with the diſtrict. *Cuff* made no ſcruple of committing this treacherous action, which in former times would have been ſeverely puniſhed, and attended with the loſs of cuſtomers; but which, in the new ſyſtem of things, was calculated to gain the wretch not only a large pecuniary reward, but alſo the protection and cuſtom of the zealous patriots.

This letter was no ſooner depoſited with the Diſtrict, than it was ſent to the Committee of Inquiry, who immediately diſpatched their ſatellites to ſeize Madame *de Perſan*, and her papers, and to bring her before the Committee; who, having examined her, ſent her back to her own houſe under a ſtrong guard, and ſpent the whole night in drawing up a moſt alarming report, to be preſented next day, upon the dreadful plot contrived at Turin with the Abbé *de Cordon*. The reporter *(Voidel)* ſtated no other grounds for ſuſpecting the exiſtence of this plot than the letter in queſtion; and particularly the following expreſſions in it.

" The further we proceed, and the nearer " we approach the blow, the more dangerous " will

" will it be to receive the ſhock. The mine
" is daily charging, and I ſhall be able to
" inform you when the exploſion will take
" place. The craſh it will make is incal-
" culable, but expect it, and take your pre-
" cautions in time to avoid being ſtruck.
" This is all as your friend I can at preſent
" ſay to you."

Madame *de Perſan* being interrogated concerning this letter, declared that it was an anſwer to a queſtion which ſhe had put to the Abbé *de Cordon* concerning the projects of Sardinia. Could the Committee of Inquiry, who were accurately informed of every thing that had the leaſt reference to the Revolution by their own innumerable ſpies, and by the emiſſaries ſpread by the Jacobin Club throughout Europe, have been ignorant of this conſpiracy, had any ſuch in reality exiſted? Could ſo formidable a mine have been charged in Piedmont? Could the immenſe preparations neceſſary on the occaſion be made ſo ſecretly, that nothing ſhould tranſpire during ſix weeks but what was revealed by the treachery of the perſon who waſhed for Madame *de Perſan?* In a word, is it not evident that this ridiculous conſpiracy, whether mentioned ſeriouſly or in jeſt by the Abbé *de Cordon*,

Cordon, had no exiſtence but in his letter, no foundation but that of a ſimple conjecture.

The Aſſembly nevertheleſs took the report on this affair, which was laid before them by the Committee of Inquiry, into ſerious conſideration; and decreed that the Preſident ſhould wait upon the King to requeſt that he would give orders to the Chatelet to proceed againſt the Abbé *de Cordon* as being privy to a plot againſt the public liberty, and to proſecute the authors, abettors, adherents, and accomplices of the ſaid plot.

It was ordered by the ſame Decree that Madame *de Perſan* ſhould not leave Paris till ſhe had made her depoſition, and given ſecurity to appear perſonally at the trial, if there ſhould be occaſion.

Notwithſtanding this Decree, the Committee continued to keep Madame *de Perſan* under arreſt in her own houſe, and ſhe was obliged to apply for a new Decree in order to obtain her liberty.

The Committee of Inquiry would not have attached ſo much importance to this affair, but that they doubtleſs flattered themſelves to find in the conſpiracy of Turin the ſource of another conſpiracy, which they had denounced

nounced two days before; for this unhappy Committee, ſleeping or waking, were continually haunted with conſpiracies. They perceived this new one in the reſolutions of the federate camps at Jalés, in the department of Ardeche, or rather in the imprudent commentaries made upon them by ſome anti-revolutionary Journaliſts, and in the fooliſh hopes which they attached to their being put in practice.

Theſe famous reſolutions were entered into at the Caſtle of Jalés, near which the National Guards of the departments of Ardeche, Herault, and Lozere, had been aſſembled and encamped, for the purpoſe of ſolemnly renewing, as an embodied army, the oath taken at the Federation. After the ceremony, the Staff Officers, the federate Committee, the Mayors, the Municipal Officers, and many deputies from the army, met in the caſtle, and reſolved:

"1. That the citizens detained in the "priſons of Niſmes ſince the troubles which "had agitated that city, ſhould be removed "from the department of the Gard, and "immediately tried, according to the ordi-"nary courſe of the laws, that they may

"be

" be puniſhed if guilty, and reſtored to the
" community if innocent.

" 2. That full reparation ſhould be made
" for the loſſes occaſioned by thoſe troubles.

" 3. That the National Aſſembly and the
" King ſhould be entreated to remove the
" regiment of Guienne from Niſmes, where
" they were in garriſon.

" 4. That the Catholics of Niſmes, and
" of the department of the Gard, ſhould be
" reinſtated in all their rights as French ci-
" tizens, which they ſhould freely and
" peaceably enjoy while they conformed to
" the Decrees of the Repreſentatives of the
" Nation ſanctioned by the King, and that
" their arms ſhould be reſtored to them.

" 5. That there ſhould be ſent a conci-
" liatory deputation to the Staff Officers and
" members of the National Guard of Mont-
" pellier to receive inſtructions from them
" relative to the affairs of Niſmes, and to
" act together with the ſame wiſdom they
" had hitherto diſplayed for the purpoſe of
" finally re-eſtabliſhing good order in the
" ſaid city.

" 6. That if the plan of conciliation pro-
" poſed by the army ſhould not have the
" ſucceſs they might expect, they ſhould

" entreat

" entreat the National Aſſembly and the " King to interpoſe their paternal and ſu- " preme authority to eſtabliſh and render " juſtice to all who ſhall claim it.

" 7. That the Committee of the Camp " of Jalés ſhould be permanent; that they " ſhould be increaſed, and the members " changed according to the wiſh of the elec- " tors; that they ſhould take cogniſance " of the different petitions made, or to be " made, by the members of the army; that " they ſhould endeavour to reconcile the diſ- " agreements which may ariſe amongſt " them; and finally, that they ſhould be a " central point for all the federated National " Guards, correſponding concerning all things " relative to the Federation, the whole with " the approbation of the department of Ar- " deche in all things within its juriſdiction; " and that the expences of the Committee " ſhould be defrayed by the whole depart- " ment."

The firſt articles of theſe reſolutions were inconſiſtent with ſome clauſes in the decrees which had been paſſed relative to the troubles of Niſmes; but it was evidently without malice or evil intent that the Committee of Jalés, who ſeemed to have forgotten or miſ-

underſtood

underſtood thoſe decrees, had adopted wiſer, juſter, and more conciliatory meaſures than thoſe of the Aſſembly, whoſe ſupreme power they did not the leſs acknowledge and reſpect, and to whoſe authority they ſolemnly profeſſed the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion.

All theſe teſtimonies of reſpect, of deference, and of entire confidence in the National Aſſembly, were conſidered by the Committee of Inquiry only as *a deceitful ſhow, a perfidious and artful maſk, concealing the formal intention of diſobeying, of raiſing commotions in all the departments, and of renewing the ſcenes of horror which the Aſſembly had before lamented**.

But it was the laſt article that particularly contained the *grand plot*; for it tended to eſtabliſh, under the title of *Federal Committee*, a very reſpectable club, compoſed of the true friends of order, of peace, and even of the Conſtitution; not one like that of the Jacobins, which only bore the title, but on the contrary one in conſtant and effectual oppoſition with its principles, intrigues, and manœuvres, which only tended to the ſub-

* Report of *M. de Sillery*, in the Sittings of Sept. 7.

verſion of all monarchial inſtitutions, of all property, and to the diſſolution of all ſocial order. Unhappily the Committee of Inquiry, and moſt of the Deputies of the *Coté-Gauche*, were members of the Club of Jacobins, and conſequently much intereſted in ſtifling in its birth ſo dangerous a rival as the Federal Committee, which might very ſoon have become the rallying point of the Federates of all the National Guards of the kingdom. We may judge how much the whole Aſſembly was alarmed at it by the extraordinary ſeverity of the Decree which they unanimouſly adopted upon the motion of the Committee of Inquiry. They did not content themſelves with declaring the reſolutions of the Camp at Jalés null, unconſtitutional, and criminal in the eye of the law, &c. nor with forbidding the Federal Committee to meet, and all the National Guards of the kingdom to form any federate camp; but they ordered that the authors, abettors, and inſtigators of thoſe reſolutions ſhould be proſecuted in the reſpective juriſdictions to which they belonged.

To this extreme rigour the moſt benign indulgence ſuddenly ſucceeded, when the queſtion turned upon repreſſing the popular inſurrections, the outrages and innumerable exceſſes

that every where invaded the public tranquillity, and prevented not only the receipt of the ſeigneurial dues reſerved till redeemed, but alſo the circulation of grain, and the gathering of the taxes. In ſeveral villages gallowſes were erected to frighten thoſe who were willing to pay their rents or fines due to their lords. *M. de St. Prieſt* wrote on the part of the King to the Preſident, to deſire him to inform the Aſſembly of theſe outrages, of the demand made by ſeveral departments for troops of the line, and of the impoſſibility of ſending a ſufficient number to all the places where their preſence would be neceſſary, which could be remedied only by a ſpeedy augmentation of the Maréchauſſée, and by the organization of the National Guards. The Aſſembly did not on this occaſion declare themſelves either *juſtly enraged*, or *deeply afflicted*. It judged that theſe diſorders could only be the conſequence of their Decrees not being executed, and of the ignorance of the people of the real meaning of them. The Deputy *Merlin* went ſtill farther, he ſaw in the Miniſter's ſtatement an intention to ſhackle and retard the progreſs of the Conſtitution. "The agents of the "Executive Power," ſaid he, "muſt be

" taught their duty. We are not to act for " them. The Decrees are extremely clear; " let the letter upon which we are deli- " berating be ſent back to the Miniſter who " wrote it, and let the Executive Power give " orders to the different Courts and Ma- " giſtrates to execute the Decrees of the " National Aſſembly." The Abbé *Maury* in vain repreſented that no kind of aſſiſtance could at that time be expected from Courts entirely compoſed of lawyers aſpiring to places in the new judicial arrangements; that the fear of diſpleaſing the people, by whom they were to be elected, rendered it impoſſible to obtain any kind of juſtice; that, beſides, the duty of theſe Courts was confined to the commanding of obedience to the Decrees, but that to prevent men in arms from violating them it was neceſſary to have a ſuperior force at command; and that they ſhould haſten to organize the public ſtrength which no longer exiſted, becauſe, without it, it was abſolutely impoſſible to enforce the Decrees. He might alſo have added, that ſince the diſuſe of the Parliaments *, the inferior Courts had loſt

* There only remained the *Chambres des Vacations*, whoſe final diſſolution was fixed for the 30th of Septem- ber

loſt that reſpect, and that ſalutary influence, which they formerly enjoyed when their authority was inſpected, guided, and protected by thoſe ancient ſupreme Courts, whoſe merited poſſeſſion of regard and confidence always inſured them the power and the ſubmiſſion neceſſary for the maintenance of public order. All theſe conſiderations made much leſs impreſſion upon the Aſſembly than the impertinencies of *Merlin*, whoſe opinion they adopted; and ordered in conſequence that *M. de St. Prieſt's* letter ſhould be referred to the Executive Power, in order to enforce the Decrees ſanctioned by the King.

Theſe frequent denunciations of imaginary plots, as well as of real inſurrections, not only in France but in all her colonies, did not prevent the Aſſembly from employing moſt of the Sittings in the month of September in the diſcuſſion of the plan of the Committee of Finances for the liquidation of the National Debt by an emiſſion of two thouſand millions of Aſſignats.

ber in all the Parliaments of the kingdom, except that of Paris, whoſe *Chambre des Vacations* was prorogued to the 15th of October following.—(Decree of the 6th of September 1790.)

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Mr. Necker had already forcibly repreſented the diſaſtrous and inevitable conſequences of ſo mad a meaſure, and principally the total diſappearance of ſpecie, the ruinous manœuvres of ſtock-jobbers, and the exorbitant price of proviſions and other neceſſary articles of life. The beſt-informed and moſt prudent Members of the Aſſembly were all of his opinion; but the plan of the Committee being ſupported by *Mirabeau*, the *Coté-Gauche*, the Jacobins, and conſequently by the populace, could not fail of ſucceſs. The Decree was going to be put to the vote, when *M. d'Eſprémenil*, who had endeavoured in vain to ſpeak on the preceding days, aſcended the tribune, and addreſſed the Aſſembly. "Being aware," ſaid he, "that "the debate is cloſed, I ſhall read my plan "for a Decree without making any obſer- "vations upon it, and I entreat you to liſten "to it without interruption."

"The Plan of a Decree for retrieving the "finances, paying off the National Debt, "and re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity.

"The National Aſſembly, always ani- "mated with zeal for the public good, and "warned by experience that peace is not

"to

" to be obtained whilſt ſuſpicions, well or
" ill-founded, keep a part of the citizens
" from their country, decree as follows :

" The *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* ſhall reſume its
" original operations. The 400 millions of
" Aſſignats decreed ſhall be employed as at
" firſt propoſed, and 600 millions more
" created without intereſt, reckoning from
" the 15th of October: thoſe already created
" ſhall ceaſe to bear intereſt. On the 15th
" of January next the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*
" ſhall pay in ready money, and keep their
" office open; and all the funds lodged in
" the ſaid *Caiſſe* ſhall be compoſed of the
" ſums hereinafter mentioned.

" The Nation accepts, through the me-
" dium of the Aſſembly, the ſum of 400
" millions offered in the name of the Clergy.
" The religious communities ſhall furniſh
" an extraordinary aid to the State out of
" their revenues during ſix years, the amount
" of which ſhall be agreed upon between
" them and the King.

" All the property that belonged to the
" Clergy, as well ſecular as regular, ſhall
" be reſtored to them. The ſecular Clergy
" ſhall remain authoriſed to open all
" loans neceſſary to make up the promiſed

" ſums, according to the regulations which " ſhall be fixed by the King's Letters-Patent. " The religious communities may alſo open " loans according to the ſame forms.

" All Officers, civil and military, ſupe- " rior and inferior, ſhall furniſh a ſupply to " the Finance. The Officers and Agents " *(Employés)* of Finance, ſhall furniſh a " ſupply out of their ſalaries. All ſoci- " eties, communities, and corporations ſhall " alſo furniſh a ſupply to the Finance.

" Juſtice ſhall take its former courſe, and " the titles of the Officers ſhall be provi- " ſionally transferable.

" Excepting perſonal ſervices, the citi- " zens ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in all their " property.

" The patriotic contribution ſhall not be " compulſory.

" All the old duties, except thoſe of the " Gabelle and of feudal tenure, ſhall be ga- " thered as formerly: the Courts ſhall at- " tend to the execution of this Decree.

" A ſufficient quantity of the funds ariſing " from theſe different aids ſhall be lodged at " the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, to make good its " payments; the detail of its operations are " not to be put in execution till after they

" are concerted between the Miniſter and " the Directors of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*.

" All pecuniary privileges ſhall remain " aboliſhed.

" All the annuities at 4 per cent. ſhall ſuf- " fer the deduction of a tenth.

" The debt in arrear ſhall be divided into " two claſſes, the firſt ſhall be paid the year " following by twelve equal payments, the " ſecond ſhall be funded at five per cent.

" A Sinking Fund ſhall be eſtabliſhed, " compoſed of the ſums ariſing by the ex- " tinction of the annuities.

" If theſe taxes prove inſufficient, they " may be augmented ſo many pence in the " pound of exiſting taxes as may be found " neceſſary.

" The Decree which ordered the alienation " of the Royal Demeſnes ſhall be conſidered " as if it had never taken place.

" The Provoſt-Marſhal's juriſdiction ſhall " be re-eſtabliſhed.

" The Maréchauſſée ſhall be augmented a " third.

" The Princes of the Blood ſhall be en- " treated to return into the kingdom; the " other abſent citizens ſhall be invited to do

" the

" the ſame, and ſhall be put under the pro-
" tection of the law.

" The Committees of Inquiry of the Na-
" tional Aſſembly, of the town, and all thoſe
" which may be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom,
" ſhall be aboliſhed.

" The National Aſſembly, deſiring that
" even the remembrance of the troubles,
" which, during a twelvemonth, have deſo-
" lated the kingdom, ſhould be effaced,
" ſhall implore the King to grant a general
" amneſty.

" The preſent Decree ſhall be carried to
" the foot of the Throne by the National
" Aſſembly in a body.

" The King ſhall be entreated to give an
" immediate ſanction thereto, by aſſuring
" him that there is not a Frenchman who is
" not ready to make all the ſacrifices it
" mentions.

" The Aſſembly, when they leave the
" King, ſhall go and pay their reſpects to
" the Queen. In all the pariſh churches the
" TE DEUM ſhall be ſung as a thankſgiving
" for the reſtoration of harmony; the King
" ſhall be entreated to repair on this occaſion
" with his auguſt family to the cathedral of

" Paris,

" Paris, where the National Aſſembly ſhall " attend in a body, and hope to ſee the " Princes, and all the French who now ab- " ſent themſelves."

M. d'Eſprémenil was frequently interrupted as he read, ſometimes by hootings, and at others by burſts of laughter, in which there was more rage than mirth. He had no ſooner finiſhed, than the *Coté-Gauche* bellowed forth the moſt violent clamours, which were powerfully ſupported by the howlings of the galleries. *Send him to the Committee of Health,* cried ſome: *Send him to the Committee of Alienation,* replied others. To theſe cries ſucceeded motions of a much more ſerious nature. " I " move," ſaid *Charles de Lameth,* " that " *M. d'Eſprémenil* be ſent for a fortnight " to Charenton." *Alexander de Lameth,* leſs ſevere, moved the order of the day, and that the reaſon ſhould be entered on the journals in the following manner: " The Na- " tional Aſſembly, to prove the entire li- " berty of opinion, having heard the plan " of a Decree by *M. d'Eſprémenil* read to " an end, and looking upon it as the work " of a diſtempered imagination, paſſed to " the order of the day." After a long tumult,

mult, in which many perſonal reflections were intermingled, this reſolution was adopted; and the debate opened upon the plan of the Committee of Finances, and upon the fourteen other plans of Decree which had been propoſed in the diſcuſſion. The debates upon the priority of the motions, upon the amendments, and upon the manner of ſtating the queſtion, were endleſs, and produced many violent ſcenes, which it would be as tedious as uſeleſs to relate. The priority was at length allowed to the motion of the Deputy *Camus*, which was to this effect: 1ſt, That it ſhould be decreed that the unfunded debt of the State, and that of the Clergy, ſhould be paid with Aſſignats without intereſt; 2dly, that there never ſhould be more in circulation than twelve hundred millions of Aſſignats, including the 400 millions already decreed; 3dly, that the Aſſignats which ſhould be returned to the *Extraordinary Cheſt* ſhould be burnt, and that no new fabrication of them ſhould take place without a Decree of the Legiſlative Body, and always upon condition that they ſhould not exceed the value of the national property, or more than twelve hundred millions be ever in circulation.

This

This Decree was paſſed, and on the votes being taken there appeared 508 againſt 423.

The following day the Deputy *Chabroud* opened his report on the proceedings inſtituted at the Chatelet concerning the outrages of the 6th of October. It occupied two whole Sittings. I ſhall certainly not undertake to detail this work of darkneſs, this monſtrous tiſſue of impoſition and calumny vainly put together, to give the air of ſimple misfortunes to the moſt execrable crimes, and cauſe the authors of them to be acquitted by accuſing their victims. I ſhall only ſay, that the whole art of this report, or rather of this defence, conſiſts in mutilating, extenuating, or turning into ridicule moſt of the depoſitions; in laying great ſtreſs upon the moſt inſignificant; and in overcoming the moſt poſitive by the ſhameleſs aſſertion, that what a witneſs ſwears poſitively he has ſeen and heard he may have thought he ſaw and heard, but that he was deceived. It was by ſuch manifeſt prevarications that the advocate *Chabroud* ſucceeded in ſaving the Duke of *Orleans* and his accomplices from the diſgrace of a judicial condemnation, but not from the ſhame of having richly deſerved it; for the publication of the proceedings of the

the Chatelet left no doubt reſpecting the part that had been taken by the Duke in the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. "Why," ſaid *Mirabeau* to the Preſident *de Frondeville* in the Sitting of the 19th of April, "were they ſo ſimple as to force me "to make a common cauſe with that dirty "ſcoundrel! Had they not made it impoſ-"ſible for me to attack him, no one had it "ſo much in his power to confound him as "I: you ſhould have ſeen how I would "have uſed him."

While *Chabroud* was reading his report, many Deputies, whoſe depoſitions he altered, called to him that they were falſely entered; but their voices were drowned by the hooting of the *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries.

Of all the atrocious calumnies in which the reporter indulged himſelf, the moſt ſhocking, as well as the moſt ill-judged, were thoſe which he dared to level againſt the brave *Gardes-du-Corps*. They were refuted with equal firmneſs and dignity by *M. de Bonnai*, who, as ſoon as the report was finiſhed, delivered the following ſpeech:

"Gentlemen, Calumny, in its attack upon "virtue, can obtain only ſlight ſucceſs, "only

" only fleeting triumphs. In vain did the " villains, who have ſo much intereſt in de- " ceiving and miſleading the people, who " have ſo much intereſt above all in opening " to themſelves an eaſy road into the ſacred " aſylum of our kings, undertake to defame " the *Gardes-du-Corps:* the public voice " ſoon vindicated them.—In thoſe pretended " orgies, made the wretched pretext for ſo " many crimes, no man of ſenſe ſaw any " thing more than a friendly entertainment " uſual among military corps, and the in- " tention of which was innocent and pure. " For the firſt time in this tribune, and in a " report which I own appeared to me to " be A MODEL OF PLEADING FOR ALL " GREAT CRIMINALS, it has been aſſerted, " that in the horrid days of the 5th and 6th " of October the *Gardes-du-Corps* were the " aggreſſors. Nay more, a wonder has been " made, and merit taken, that only two " heads had been cut off. An attempt has " been made to throw the blame upon the " pretended violences of thoſe brave men, " whom I may truly call ſtoics, and who " ſuffered themſelves to be maſſacred with- " out reſiſtance; to throw upon them, I ſay, " the blame of theſe atrocities, which in the

" morning

" morning of the 6th of October ſtained
" the palace of our kings, and left an inde-
" lible blot on our hiſtory. Vain efforts!
" Uſeleſs wickedneſs! You were all, Gen-
" tlemen, witneſſes of the facts; all of
" you have read the papers relative to the
" proceedings, the only legal and judicial
" depoſitions. The truth is very clear.
" France and all Europe know that the
" *Gardes-du-Corps*, always faithful to ho-
" nour, always faithful to the Nation, to the
" law, and to the King—the *Gardes-du-*
" *Corps*, who have ſo often fought for their
" country, and who have perhaps ſome-
" times ſaved it, never were ſo great as
" when, through exceſs of attachment and
" obedience to their King, they ſuffered their
" courage to be chained. Sublime heroiſm!
" unexampled, unparalleled! No, Gentle-
" men, never were they more worthy of
" homage and reſpect than on that day when,
" agitated with rage and deſpair, they ſuffer-
" ed themſelves to be maſſacred upon the
" ſteps of the throne which the King had
" forbidden them to defend. They fell in-
" nocent victims under the aſſaſſins' ſteel,
" and yet there are tongues that dare to pro-
" fane their aſhes. But, Gentlemen, in ſa-

" crificing

" crificing themſelves they ſaved the Queen,
" perhaps the King; and this cheering
" thought prevented their feeling the pangs
" of death.

" For my part, Gentlemen, as an Officer
" of that honourable corps, in belonging to
" which I have always gloried, and which
" was never dearer to me than ſince its mis-
" fortunes; of that corps whoſe conſtant and
" only guides are honour and loyalty, I ſhould
" fear to be diſowned by its members were I
" to condeſcend to juſtify them, were I to con-
" deſcend to refute calumnies ſo groſs, and of
" which the venom is diſcharged too far be-
" low them to reach them. In anſwer to the
" ſtory of a *Mr. Le Cointre*, in anſwer to the
" illegal declaration of that man, too well
" known to have any credit attached to his
" teſtimony; in anſwer to the allegations of
" the reporter, who has not ſcrupled to rely on
" ſuch a teſtimony, I ſhall only oppoſe 400
" years of courage, of victories, and of vir-
" tues: and in ſpite of their baſe detractors,
" the King's *Gardes-du-Corps*, my brave
" fellow-ſoldiers, will always be what they
" have always been, like *Bayard*, daunt-
" leſs and blameleſs."

Mirabeau, exaſperated at finding himſelf

alluded to by the words *great criminals*, which *M. de Bonnai* had made uſe of in the beginning of his ſpeech, demanded a thorough and ſpeedy inveſtigation of the buſineſs. "I alſo demand," added he, "that "I may be permitted to invite *M. de Bon-* "*nai* to ſupport the charge againſt the *great* "*criminals*, and I proteſt I will not aſſume "any plea from the friendly entertainment "which he has been defending."

"I have no intention," replied *M. de Bonnai*, "to aſcend the tribune to diſcuſs "the merits of the proceedings; I acknow- "ledge all my inability in that reſpect, but "it is my duty to defend a corps of which "I am an officer; and as to the expreſſion "of *a model of pleading for great cri-* "*minals*, which I do not retract, I declare "that I only meant to mark the degree of "cenſure which the report of *M. Chabroud* "appeared to me, and ſtill appears to me, to "merit."

The inferences of the report were, that it ſhould be declared that there was no cauſe of accuſation againſt the Duke of *Orleans*, or againſt *Mirabeau*. The diſcuſſion was adjourned till the next day, the 2d of October. The Members of the Aſſembly, who had

been called upon to give evidence, and whom the reporter had rendered culpable by altering their depoſitions, demanded to be heard, but they were denied, and they were all confined at the bottom of the Hall, except ſuch as had declared that they knew nothing. The Abbé *Maury* argued with his uſual eloquence, and clearly demonſtrated the reality and the object of the conſpiracy, which had produced the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. It appeared to him prudent, and perhaps bold to acknowledge, that the proceedings did not furniſh proofs ſufficiently concluſive againſt *Mirabeau* to ground a Decree againſt him. But in regard to the Duke of *Orleans*, he inſiſted that the number and importance of the depoſitions in which he was charged, and of which he ſaid he held an extract in his hands, left no doubt of the neceſſity of his being tried; that a judicial impeachment, founded upon a criminal proceſs, could not be effaced but by a legal judgment; and that to deprive the Duke of *Orleans* of the only means which he had to juſtify himſelf, was rather injuring than ſerving him; and in conſequence he was of opinion that it ſhould be declared that there were grounds for impeaching him.

Mirabeau then ſpoke, and pleaded his own cauſe with the moſt arrogant confidence. According to him the Chatelet and the witneſſes were the only perſons guilty in this affair. He ſaid, ſpeaking of the proceedings, that *even the calendar of crimes offered but few examples of a villainy at once ſo ſhameleſs and ſo ill-conducted:* and he ſwore to purſue the authors of it *to the grave.* This bluſtering, as ridiculous as it was indecent, obtained the moſt lively applauſe. To overturn the depoſitions which accuſed him of having, at five in the afternoon of the 5th of October, ran through the ranks of the regiments of Flanders ſword in hand, he referred to the depoſition of a witneſs examined in the proceedings *, who had ſaid, that the *man ſeen in the ranks of the regiment of Flanders was M. de Gamaches, and that his perſon very much reſembled Mirabeau's.* He alſo adduced the teſtimony of *M. de la Marck*, a Member of the Aſſembly, at whoſe houſe, and with whom he had paſſed the whole afternoon. "Thus," ſaid he, "all things being "duly weighed and examined, the proceed-

* *Girin de la Motte*, 48th witneſs.

"ings

" ings have in reality nothing unpleaſant " upon this head, but as they attack *M. de* " *Gamaches*, who finds himſelf judicially " and vehemently ſuſpected of being very " ugly from his reſemblance to me." This expreſſion, and that which I mentioned before, ſuffice to give a juſt idea of the ſtyle of *Mirabeau's* defence.

With reſpect to the ſentiments which he had been accuſed of expreſſing, he did not deny them; but he commented upon them, and explained them in his own way, that is to ſay, in the ſenſe of the Revolution. He inſiſted, that far from proving that he was initiated in any ſecret plans, or in any conſpiracy, they only ſhowed that he had judged better than they believed he could concerning the tendency of opinion, the nature of things, the rapidity of circumſtances, &c. He concluded his defence with a moſt vehement attack upon the Chatelet, and upon thoſe *infernal proceedings*, the ſecret of which he pretended he had unfolded, *ſuch as it would ſoon be engraven in hiſtory by the moſt juſt and moſt implacable vengeance.* This was the concluding ſentence of his ſpeech, and it was followed by more lively and reiterated applauſes than ever

the Hall had rung with before. The ſame honour was beſtowed on ſome expreſſions which the Duke *de Biron* was mean enough to utter in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he termed the firſt diſciple of Liberty in France, and whoſe ſervices, moderation, and purity he extolled.

The triumph of guilt was already ſo evidently ſecured, that it was almoſt as uſeleſs to ſpeak againſt the accuſed as to defend them; and no one deſiring to ſpeak, the tribune was vacant, and a profound ſilence reigned for ſeveral minutes in the Aſſembly, when at laſt *M. de Montlauſier* roſe. The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries gueſſed what he was about to ſay; and although *Mirabeau* had demanded a thorough inveſtigation, their murmurs, their hooting, and their calling repeatedly for the queſtion, announced the intention of cloſing the debate immediately. "Theſe clamours are "infamous," cried *M. de Montlauſier*. "You have not yet examined a ſingle "charge; you have heard but two or three "explanatory ſpeeches; and can you deter-"mine proceedings ſo complicated! It is "of great moment to inveſtigate and to de-"cide upon this report, this memorial, theſe

"pleadings;

" pleadings; if we decide not upon them, " France and poſterity will. It is not print- " ed, it has not been diſtributed among us; " I demand three days to conſider this work " of three months."—He was here interrupted by a cry for the queſtion.—" Thoſe " who call for the queſtion are very bad and " very perfidious adviſers—I believe no one " to be ſo much an enemy to the accuſed as " to hurry us into an act ſo contrary to the " dignity of this Aſſembly. I have pre- " pared myſelf with obſervations, which I " mean to offer in the courſe of the debate; " I have examined all the papers, as was my " duty" . . . . He was again interrupted by freſh murmurs, the violence of which, added to his own indignation, prevented his proceeding.

Roederer then ſpoke, and impudently aſſerted that nothing remained to be done, previous to the deciſion, but to hear the particulars propoſed to be ſtated on the part of the Duke of *Orleans*, *of whoſe innocence there was no longer a doubt:* and he called upon the Duke *de Biron* to ſay whether the Duke of *Orleans* wiſhed to ſpeak, or thought it more worthy of him to wait till after the determination of the Aſſembly.

The Duke *de Biron* immediately replied, that the Duke of *Orleans*, conſcious of his innocence, and fully relying on the juſtice of the Aſſembly, would ſay nothing at that time.

The Members of the *Coté-Droit* requeſted in vain that the deciſion ſhould be poſtponed till after the diſtribution of the report. "Theſe proceedings," cried *Barnave*, "were condemned from the moment they came to our hands. Every body has ſeen that in order to make criminals it was neceſſary to have a conſpiracy, and nobody has diſcovered in all this buſineſs any other conſpiracy than the proceedings themſelves: I move that the moſt profound contempt for theſe proceedings, for thoſe who inſtituted them, and for thoſe who, in the courſe of them, have been hardy enough to give their conjectures, and their malicious and perfidious inſinuations as evidence, be the ſole reſult of your deliberation on the ſubject."

The Abbé *Maury* declared in the name of the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, that they could not, and would not, take any part in the determination; and many of them retired. The Decree propoſed by the reporter was immediately put to the vote, and adopted by

by a very great majority amidſt the applauſes of the Galleries, excited by thoſe of the Aſſembly. *M. de Sillery* then announced that the Duke of *Orleans* deſired to be heard next day; and he did in fact appear in the tribune in the Sitting of the 3d of October. "*M. de* "*Biron,*" ſaid he, "engaged yeſterday in "my name, and I come this day to ratify "the engagement, not to leave you in the "leaſt doubt, but to throw a light even upon "the ſlighteſt circumſtances of this dark "affair, . . . You have declared that there "was no grounds of accuſation againſt me, "it remains for me to prove that there was "not even grounds for ſuſpicion; it remains "for me to clear away thoſe deceitful ap-"pearances, thoſe doubtful preſumptions, "ſpread with ſo much calumny, and ſo rea-"dily admitted by malevolence . . . and this "I now pledge myſelf to do. I owe it to "myſelf; I owe it to this Aſſembly, of "which I have the honour to be a Member; "I owe it to the Nation at large." But he never diſcharged this debt ſo ſolemnly contracted, and the monſter filled up the meaſure of his crimes by the moſt execrable of all!

The ſcandalous indulgence of the Aſſembly on this occaſion aſtoniſhed none, but confirmed

firmed the opinion already ſpread, that many of the Members in the majority had the greateſt intereſt in ſecuring impunity to the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, and in quaſhing the proceedings of the Chatelet. Had the trials taken place, as they ſhould have done, they might have diſcovered ſome new accomplices of the Duke of *Orleans* amongſt thoſe of his colleagues, who appeared the more eager to acquit him, as they were at once the judges and the parties.

I ſhall conclude the account of theſe proceedings with a ſublime inſtance of the Queen's magnanimity, worthy of her great character in thoſe days of horror, when ſhe was ſurrounded with poniards, and ſtood firm amidſt thoſe outrages, the authors of which the Chatelet were to diſcover and to proſecute. The Committee of Inquiry for the town having ſent a deputation to her Majeſty to obtain ſuch information as ſhe might be pleaſed to give concerning the outrages of the 6th of October, the Queen anſwered that ſhe had nothing to ſay: "Never," added ſhe, "will I turn informer "againſt the King's ſubjects." The Chatelet ſent a deputation to her Majeſty for the ſame purpoſe, and to theſe her anſwer was: "I

"SAW

"SAW ALL, I KNEW ALL, I HAVE FOR-
"GOTTEN ALL." Yet this noble Princeſs, born to do honour to the firſt Throne in the world, and to be the idol of nations, in France found aſſaſſins!... executioners!... And thoſe monſters are ſuffered ſtill to live!

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXI.

Memorable Decree of the Parliament of Toulouſe announced to the Aſſembly by the Keeper of the Seals—Opinion of Robeſpierre upon the Inutility of its being made known to the Aſſembly—Decree ordering thoſe Magiſtrates to be arreſted, and proſecuted on an Information for Rebellion—The Miniſters loſing Credit by their Weakneſs, are all attacked and denounced in a Report made in the Name of ſeveral Committees—Opinion of M. de Cazalès—A Motion in favour of M. de Montmorin adopted—The Decree propoſed againſt the Miniſters rejected by a ſmall Majority—They are again attacked by a Petition from the Commune and Sections—

tions—M. de la Tour du Pin and the Keeper of the Seals give in their Reſignations—Warm Debates on the Subject of changing the National Flag—Speech made by Mirabeau—M. de Guilhermy inſults him, and is confined—The Jacobin Club put an End to the Inſurrection of the Sailors at Breſt—Pretended Counter-Revolutionary Orgies held by the Garriſon of Béfort ſeverely puniſhed.

IN proportion as the Aſſembly were indulgent to the moſt atrocious crimes, when they could be connected by any means with the Revolution, and there were few which might not be taken in that ſenſe, they were ſevere againſt every act of virtue and courage which tended to maintain the ancient conſtitutional principles of the Monarchy, reſpect for religion, for property, and, in ſhort, for whatever was not revolutionary. The King, who could not but be extremely affected by theſe proofs of zeal and attachment, had not only to lament the want of power to reward them, but the being reduced to ſuffer his Miniſters to denounce in his name his moſt faithful

ful ſervants, and expoſe them to the cenſures of the Aſſembly.

What part could be more painful, more heart-rending to the chief of the Magiſtracy, than that of accuſing Magiſtrates, whoſe heroic conduct he could not but be ſenſible would obtain the praiſe and the admiration of every Frenchman whom the revolutionary mania had not blinded? Amongſt thoſe worthy magiſtrates I ſhall inſtance the Chamber of Vacations of the Parliament of Toulouſe: that Parliament, alas! in which I had the honour to commence my career in the magiſtracy, and of which we have ſeen almoſt all the members dragged from Toulouſe to Paris as guilty of treaſon againſt the Nation, and periſhing on a ſcaffold. In paying theſe illuſtrious martyrs of true patriotiſm, of honour, and of loyalty, the tribute of regret and tears which are their due, it is a great gratification to me that to ſecure them the eſteem of poſterity, it is only neceſſary to relate their conduct, and the honourable act which was the cauſe of their accuſation.

The Aſſembly had prorogued the Chambers of Vacations of all the Parliaments of the kingdom,

kingdom, only from the fear that theſe Courts, when they met, after the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, ſhould have thought proper to take cogniſance of them, and unite their efforts and all their remaining power and authority to ſtop or undermine the Revolution. The Chambers of Vacation, by obeying the *expreſs command*, which the King had been compelled to ſend them, had proviſionally regiſtered the letters of prorogation. That of Toulouſe, ſeeing that the annihilation of all the ſupreme courts would be the conſequence of it, determined not to merit, by the moderation and ſilence which the perilous ſituation of the King had hitherto compelled them to obſerve, the reproach of having favoured an enterpriſe ſo diſaſtrous; and in conſequence adopted on the 25th of September this memorable reſolution.

" The Court ſitting in Vacation, con-
" ſidering that the French Monarchy ap-
" proaches the moment of its diſſolution,
" that ſoon no traces will remain of it, and
" that the ancient Courts of Juſtice are not
" even reſpected;

" Conſidering that the Deputies of the
" States-General had been ſent only to put

" an

" an end to the ruinous ſtate of the Fi-
" nances;

" Conſidering that thoſe Deputies could
" not change the conſtitution of the State
" without violating their inſtructions, and
" the faith ſworn to their conſtituents;

" Conſidering that in order to deſtroy the
" Magiſtracy, it would have been neceſſary
" that inſtructions ſhould have been expreſs-
" ly given them for the purpoſe; that on
" the contrary many of the inſtructions ex-
" preſsly demand the preſervation of the
" Parliament of Languedoc;

" Conſidering that the Clergy have been
" deprived of their eſtates, which ſeemed
" ſecured to them for ever by a long poſſeſ-
" ſion; that the Nobility have been deſpoil-
" ed of their rights and titles againſt the
" conſtitutional principles of a true mo-
" narchy; that Religion is degraded and
" drawn towards its ruin; and that the new
" judicial order can only aggravate the bur-
" den of taxes on the people;

" The Court, inviolably attached to the
" ſacred perſon of the King, to the Princes
" of his auguſt blood, and to the ancient
" laws, proteſt for the intereſt of the ſaid

" lord

" lord the King againſt the overturning of " the Monarchy, the annihilation of the " orders, the invaſion of property, and the " ſuppreſſion of the Court of Languedoc; " and the ſaid edicts and declarations being " only entered by them proviſionally upon " the regiſters, and upon condition of being " entered anew when the Court met, a " clauſe, now uſeleſs, they declare the ſaid " entries null."

Two days after, upon the preſentation of the Decree which ſuppreſſed all the Chambers of Vacations, they adopted a ſecond reſolution couched in theſe terms:

" The 27th of September, the King's At- " torney-General being preſent, and the let- " ters patent of ſuppreſſion being laid upon " the table, the Court conſidering its pre- " ceding reſolution, and the impoſſibility of " deſtroying themſelves, declare they cannot " proceed to regiſter the ſaid letters."

On the 5th of October the Keeper of the Seals ſent copies of theſe two reſolutions to the Aſſembly, with the following note:

" The King commands me to inform the " National Aſſembly of the manner in which " the Chambers of Vacation of the Par-

" liaments of, &c. have received the Decrees " for ſuppreſſing all the ancient ſupreme ju- " dicial juriſdictions. The Chamber of Va- " cations of the Parliament of Toulouſe on " the 25th of September adopted a reſolu- " tion, on which the King thought it neceſ- " ſary to conſult with the Aſſembly before " he took any ſtep. I ſend a copy of the " reſolution."

Robeſpierre, the moſt headſtrong, the moſt fanatic of all the Revolutioniſts, aſcend- ed the tribune immediately after the reading of theſe papers, and ſeverely cenſured the Miniſter for communicating them to the As- ſembly.

" This reſolution," ſaid he, " is an act " of delirium which ſhould only excite con- " tempt . . . *Why is this Miniſter ſo haſty* " *to bring it before the Aſſembly?* They " may declare to the Members of the Par- " liament of Toulouſe that they are permit- " ted to remain bad citizens. This Court " is forming a coalition with the Executive " Power."

The murmurs excited by this laſt expreſ- ſion compelled the ſpeaker to leave the tri- bune. No perſon roſe to ſpeak after him, and

and the Aſſembly, without any farther diſcuſſion, referred the note of the Keeper of the Seals, and the papers annexed to it, to the united Committees of Conſtitution and Reports.

M. de Broglio . . . . yes, *M. de Broglio* undertook this affair, and on the 8th of October made the report in the Evening Sitting, and beſtowed every odious epithet upon the reſolutions of the Chamber of Vacations of Toulouſe, and upon the Magiſtrates who compoſed it. According to him, thoſe Magiſtrates had been wilfully guilty of a high miſdemeanour and rebellion. Their crime was flagrant. A criminal proſecution ſhould follow. Their prevarication, the enormity of their crime, the immenſity of their offence, were clearly proved by their daring to ſend that ſacrilegious reſolution to the King; a reſolution, which was at once a maſter-piece of error and perfidy, and an alarm-bell of rebellion, rung by thoſe too whoſe auguſt and beneficent functions ſhould only lead to peace and tranquillity. He terminated this frantic report with the following plan for a Decree:

"The National Aſſembly, after having "heard the Committees of Conſtitution and

" Reports, decree that the Members of the
" late Chamber of Vacations of the Parlia-
" ment of Toulouſe, who paſſed the reſolu-
" tions of the 25th and 27th of September
" laſt, and the Attorney-General of that
" Court, ſhall be brought before the tri-
" bunal, which ſhall forthwith be formed
" for the trial of treaſons againſt the Nation,
" to be there proceeded againſt for rebellion
" and high miſdemeanours, as they ſhall ſee
" cauſe. The Aſſembly moreover decree,
" that on account of the nature of the crime,
" the King ſhall be requeſted to give orders
" without delay for ſecuring their perſons,
" as well as all other neceſſary orders to
" carry the preſent Decree into execution."

The opinion of the Committees was ſtrongly ſupported by *Alexander de Lameth*. One member alone of the *Coté-Droit (Madier)* hazarded an obſervation in favour of the accuſed full of good ſenſe and juſtice. " What were the Parliaments?" ſaid he, " The depoſitaries of the ancient Conſtitu-
" tion. They had received it from the
" King's hand; they had ſworn to maintain
" it. This oath they renewed every year . . .
" Were a new Legiſlature to overthrow what
" you

" you have done, and were the judges eſ-
" tabliſhed by you to proteſt againſt the
" change, would it be juſt to try them as
" criminals? Conſider this compariſon, it
" is perfectly exact."

This obſervation excited almoſt as much murmur and laughter as applauſe, and the plan for the Decree propoſed by the Committees was adopted without any other oppoſition.

What could the Aſſembly have done if theſe Magiſtrates, inſtead of feeble remonſtrances dictated by their oaths, had paſſed one of thoſe Decrees of reſiſtance, the ſevereſt puniſhment of which, under the pretended reign of deſpotiſm, never exceeded a temporary exile? What accuſation of a higher nature than that of rebellion and high treaſon could they have brought againſt them, if, inſtead of confining themſelves to a ſimple refuſal of regiſtering, which could neither hinder nor retard the execution of the Decree which ſuppreſſed them, they had opened the eyes of the people to the buffoonery, the infidelity, and the crimes of their repreſentatives? If, concerting with all the Chambers of Vacations in the kingdom, they had ſolemnly declared as null and derogatory to

the rights of the Nation all the Decrees contrary to the inſtructions which the Deputies to the States-General had received from their reſpective bailiwicks? In a word, if uniting with the nobility, with men of property, with the numerous friends of religion and the King, they had erected the ſtandard of inſurrection, the moſt ſacred without doubt, the only lawful one, but nevertheleſs the moſt criminal in the eyes of the Committee of Reports? What expreſſions could *M. Broglio* have found to beſtow on acts like theſe, after having expreſsly ſaid, *that the reſolution of the 25th of September was beyond all expreſſion?* And this was repeated by the Revolutionary Tribunal when they condemned in a maſs all the Members of the Parliament of Toulouſe to death: a ſentence, which was but the execution of the Decree of the 8th of October paſſed againſt the opinion of *Robeſpierre*, who was much more moderate, and upon a denunciation made in the King's name!

When obſtacles which could only be removed by the Aſſembly impeded the action of the Executive Power, it was to the Aſſembly, no doubt, that the Miniſters were to denounce them: but could the reſponſibility

to

to which they were bound impoſe upon them the duty of denouncing alſo without neceſſity weak or inſignificant actions, by which ſome victims of the Revolution manifeſted not an efficacious oppoſition to the Decrees which ſtripped them of their ſituation, but merely their repugnance to agree to their being put in execution? The Decrees of the Chamber of Vacations of the Parliament of Toulouſe certainly could not prevent, nor did it prevent, the Decree for their ſuppreſſion being carried into complete execution. The Council had therefore been perfectly regular, even in the eyes of the moſt flaming patriots, if they had contented themſelves with pronouncing the reſolutions void, to which the Magiſtrates who had adopted them could not have given any oppoſition.

This exceſſive dread of reſponſibility accelerated the annihilation of the Royal authority, and diſcredited the Miniſters to ſuch a degree in the public opinion, and with all parties, that their retreat from office ſoon became inevitable. They were at firſt attacked in a body in a report made in the name of the Diplomatic, Colonial, Military, and Naval Committees, concerning the continuation of the troubles, and want of ſubordination in the

ſquadron at Breſt. The reporter *(M. de Menou)* imputed to their want of energy the obſtacles experienced in the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and the regeneration of the State. "Whatever," ſaid he, "be the cauſe of that "want of energy, whether the miſtruſt which "they have excited in the people throw dif-"ficulties before them, or that they only "know the Conſtitution by name, and have "not comprehended or adopted its princi-"ples, the public force is weakened and loſt "in their hands . . . They pay great atten-"tion to local diſorders, they come daily to "amuſe us with them, and daily tell us of "the diſtruſt which attends their conduct, "and which deprives the Executive Power of "the energy and ſtrength which it ought to "have."

The plan for the Decree with which this report was concluded was reduced to the following points:

1ſt, To deſire the King to name and ſend to Breſt two new Civil Commiſſioners poſſeſſing the neceſſary powers, and authoriſed to employ every means proper for effecting the re-eſtabliſhment of order and ſubordination; and to authoriſe the Commandant to exclude from the ſquadron and diſcharge all

all thoſe who ſhould not be found fit for ſea-ſervice.

2dly, To cenſure the conduct of the Municipality of Breſt, and to order their *Procureur Syndic* (Attorney-General) to the Bar.

3dly, To charge the Preſident to wait upon the King, and repreſent to him that the diſtruſt which the people had conceived againſt the preſent Miniſters was the occaſion of the weakneſs of the government, and that it threw the greateſt obſtacles in the way of the re-eſtabliſhment of public order, the execution of the laws, and the finiſhing of the Conſtitution.

This laſt article, evidently derogatory to the right reſerved to the King of freely chooſing and keeping in his Council ſuch perſons as he ſhould think worthy of his confidence, was warmly debated, and finally rejected, but in a ſtyle the moſt galling and humiliating to the Miniſters, even by thoſe Members of the Aſſembly moſt devoted to the King, and particularly by *M. de Cazalès*. "It is not," ſaid he, "to defend "the Miniſters that I appear in this tribune. "I know nothing of their diſpoſition, nor do "I approve of their conduct. They have

"long

" long been guilty; long ſince could I have
" accuſed them of having betrayed the Royal
" authority; for it is alſo treaſon againſt the
" Nation to betray the authority which alone
" can defend the people from the deſpotiſm
" of a National Aſſembly, juſt as the Na-
" tional Aſſembly can alone defend the people
" from the deſpotiſm of kings. I could
" have accuſed your fugitive Miniſter of
" Finances, who, baſely attending to what
" concerned his ſafety, ſacrificed to his
" own ambition the good he might have
" done . . . . . I could have accuſed him
" of having incited the Revolution without
" preparing the means of inſuring the ſuc-
" ceſs, or obviating the danger of it . . . I
" could have accuſed him of having con-
" ſtantly diſſembled his conduct and his
" principles. I could have accuſed the Mi-
" niſters of the Home Department of per-
" mitting the King's orders to be diſobeyed.
" I could have accuſed them all of an aſto-
" niſhing ſupineneſs. I could have accuſed
" them of their perfidious counſels. All can
" excuſe the exuberances that ſhoot from the
" love of our country; but who could ex-
" cuſe thoſe frigid ſouls which patriotiſm

" cannot

" cannot warm, thoſe men who, looking to
" themſelves inſtead of the State, conſcious
" of their inability and cowardice, and hav-
" ing undertaken the public buſineſs, leave
" the helm of the State to the Factious, take
" no command, yet obſtinately keep their
" places, and dread returning to that obſcu-
" rity which they ought never to have left.
" During the long convulſions which agi-
" tated England, *Strafford* periſhed on a
" ſcaffold, but Europe admired his virtue,
" and his name is idolized by his country-
" men. Such is the example that faithful
" Miniſters ſhould follow. If they have
" not courage to periſh, or ſuſtain the tot-
" tering monarchy, they ſhould fly and hide
" themſelves. *Strafford* died—What then?
" Is not this man alſo dead? This Miniſter
" who baſely abandoned France to calamities
" created by himſelf. Is not his name ef-
" faced from the liſt of the living? Does
" he not feel the pang of outliving himſelf,
" and of leaving to hiſtory only the record
" of his ignominy? As to the ſervile com-
" panions of his labour, and of his ſhame,
" the preſent objects of your deliberation,
" may we not apply to them the verſe of

" *Taſſo*,

" *Taſſo; They ſtill walked, but they were*
" *dead.*"

From the extreme harſhneſs of theſe reproaches, it was ſuſpected that *M. de Cazalès* appeared ſo ſevere in order to render himſelf leſs ſuſpected of partiality for the Miniſters in reſiſting the Decree propoſed againſt them in the name of the four Committees. In fact, it was highly probable that this motive had engaged him to expreſs with more energy a ſentiment but too well juſtified by the dangers into which the conduct or ſupineneſs of ſome of the Miniſters had drawn the Monarchy and the King. *M. de Cazalès* would ſurely not have included *M. de St. Prieſt* in this deſcription, if he had not feared, by excepting him, to incenſe the Factious ſtill further againſt that Miniſter, whoſe zeal, firmneſs, and attachment to the King were generally known. Theſe debates ſo mortifying, ſo inſulting to the Council, entirely occupied the Aſſembly during two Sittings. At the moment the plan propoſed by the Committee was going to be put to the vote, a Breton Deputy *(Chapelier)* obſerved that none of the complaints againſt the Miniſters could affect the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; who in his department

partment had given no cauſe of reproach; that conſequently he ought not to be included in the motion, nor in the deciſion. The Aſſembly adopted this amendment by a very great majority, and declared *that M. de Montmorin had never loſt the public confidence from the firſt moment they had placed it in him.* The votes were then called over upon the article relative to the Miniſters, and it was rejected by a majority of 63, there being 403 votes againſt 340.

The numerous party who wiſhed for the diſmiſſion of the Miniſters nevertheleſs continued to attack them daily with the moſt ſcandalous inſolence. The very next day *M. de Menou* reſuming the diſcuſſion of his report, ſaid, in ſpeaking of the propoſal of the Committees relative to the Miniſters, "That it had been rejected the evening before only becauſe unhappily their influence, like a poiſonous blaſt which withers all it meets, had infected even the old founders of Liberty." And this ſentence, for which the ſpeaker ſhould have been called to order, as was propoſed by the members of the *Coté-Droit*, was loudly applauded three ſeveral times.

The Commune and the 48 Sections of Paris

Paris thought proper alſo to deliberate upon the propoſal of the Committees, notwithſtanding the rejection of the Decree, and voted unanimouſly the immediate diſmiſſion of the Miniſters. This vote was carried to the Aſſembly by a deputation of the Commune headed by *M. Bailly*, and of which the famous *Danton* was ſpeaker. He pointed out in his harangue different heads of accuſation equally falſe and abſurd againſt the Keeper of the Seals, againſt *M. de St. Prieſt*, and *M. la Tour-du-Pin*. He did not mention *M. de la Luzerne*, as that Miniſter had already reſigned his office in the department of the Navy, and had been ſucceeded on the 23d of October by *M. de Fleurieu*. The letter ſent by *M. de la Luzerne* to the King on that occaſion was inſerted in all the public papers, as was alſo that written two days before to his Majeſty by all the Miniſters *.

Some Members of the *Coté-Droit* ſeveral times interrupted the ſpeaker of this deputation either by direct contradictions, or by calling for proofs which expoſed the impoſture or the abſurdity of his aſſertions. The Preſident, in his anſwer to this ſpeech,

* See Appendix, No. x.

magnified

magnified emphatically the right of petition *natural to every free aſſociation, and ſanctioned by the Decrees of the Aſſembly, whilſt deſpotiſm ſtifled the voice of the people by puniſhments.* "The Commune "of Paris," added he, "have brought for- "ward complaints which no doubt they can "eſtabliſh by proofs. The ſupreme chief "of the nation will not repulſe them; a "king owes his people relief, ſuccour, and "juſtice. The Aſſembly will on their part, "after examining the proofs of the petition "you have preſented, take it into conſidera- "tion: they grant you the honours of the "Sitting." This honourable reception, given to petitioners who ought to have been ſeverely reprimanded for having dared to renew a demand which the Aſſembly had already by a Decree ſolemnly rejected, proves ſufficiently that the Commune of Paris was alſo a power which the Repreſentatives of the Nation felt themſelves under the neceſſity of reſpecting. • •

M. de la Tour-du-Pin gave in his reſignation on the 9th of November, and was ſucceeded by *M. du Portail.* The Keeper of the Seals deferred his reſignation for ſome days longer. He even wrote a letter to the

Aſſembly, requeſting a communication of all the charges which had been made againſt him, offering to anſwer them without delay. But the Aſſembly not having paſſed any Decree upon this letter, or even deigned to ſend it to the Committee of Reports, although a motion had been made to that effect, he determined a few days afterwards to quit an office which was now attended only with diſguſt. The office of Keeper of the Seals of France, which from time immemorial till the Revolution had been filled by the firſt magiſtrates of the kingdom, which was conſiderably degraded while held by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* by the annihilation of all the ancient magiſtracy *, now fell extinguiſhed into the hands of *M. Duport du Tertre*,

* The Chamber of Vacations of Paris, which the Aſſembly had permitted to exiſt fifteen days longer than the others, terminated its Sittings on the 14th of October. The following day at noon the Municipal Officers went to the *Palais de Juſtice*, where they only found the tavern-keepers, and were employed till ten at night in putting ſeals upon the regiſters and boxes of that Court. As to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, notwithſtanding the exactneſs and zeal with which he had always executed the Decrees, the letter which he addreſſed to the Aſſembly (the 21ſt of November), to inform them that he had ſurrendered the Seals into the King's hands, in conſequence of

Tertre, an advocate of little note, formerly a clerk at forty pounds a year, and at that time Lieutenant to the Mayor in the department of the Police, and living in the third ſtory of a ſmall houſe in the *Rue de la Sourdiere*. He was a laborious, active, and honeſt man, notwithſtanding his zeal for the ſucceſs of the Revolution, to which it was very natural that he ſhould be attached, as it had raiſed him from nothing; but he ſincerely deteſted the crimes and horrors of it. He and *M. du Portail*, Miniſter of War, were indebted to *M. de la Fayette* for their appointment in the Miniſtry. *M. Duport du Tertre* did not ſucceed to the office of Keeper of the Seals, which was created in 1774, and to which the ſurvivorſhip of the office of Chancellor of France was attached. He was only called *Keeper of the State Seal*, without any other duty than that of preſenting the Decrees of the Aſſembly for the King's ſanction, attending to the execution of the Decrees relative to the new organization of

of an order received from his Majeſty, was more ſtrongly and more generally applauded than any of the acts of his miniſtry; ſo true it is, that a man always finiſhes by having no party when once he abandons that which he ought to have ſupported.

the Departments of Juſtice, and to preſide in the Privy Council till it was ſuperſeded by the new *Tribunal de Caſſation**, whoſe formation was already decreed: and reſpecting which it was decided not only that the Keeper of the Seals ſhould not preſide, but even that he could not be a member of it.

It was upon the occaſion of the commotions at Breſt, and on the report of *M. Menou*, that the grand attack, of which I have juſt given an account, was made upon the Miniſters. The concluſion of that report, or rather the articles of the plan for a Decree propoſed by the four Committees, relative to changing the white flag for a tri-coloured one, produced the moſt violent debates. Some members of the *Coté-Droit* oppoſed this article with great moderation, and contented themſelves with obſerving, "that it "was the white flag which had given li- "berty to America; that every good citizen "could not but be alarmed at the change of "a colour which tended to obliterate the re- "membrance of our victories and our vir- "tues; that beſides, it was the more im-

* A Court invested with the power of reviſing and annulling the ſentences of all other tribunals.

"portant

" portant to preſerve the ancient flag for the " Monarchy, as that of the Engliſh and " Dutch being alſo of three colours, France " could not take it without expoſing her " fleets to very ſerious miſtakes; and that " the flag of no nation was the ſame as that " of their cockade," &c. &c.

No perſon replied to theſe objections, and the article would probably have been rejected if *M. de Foucault* had not attacked it in a more ſerious and ſatirical manner. " Who," ſays he, " are the military men that have " propoſed to you thus to profane the ho- " nour and the glory of the French flag? " Here we have the true cauſe of the diſ- " orders of the ſquadron. Let us no longer " be accuſed of frivolity, of that love for " faſhion; leave to children this new tri- " coloured plaything. It is dangerous to " take ſo uſeleſs a ſtep; but as it is not ſup- " ported it is unneceſſary to argue. I move " the previous queſtion."

There wanted no more to irritate *Mirabeau*, whoſe talents, when he was animated, were unparalleled in miſleading his auditors by preſenting the moſt indifferent queſtions in the moſt alarming and monſtrous points of view. " At the outſet of this ſtrange de-

" bate," cried he, " I felt, I own, as the
" greater part of this Aſſembly, the pulſa-
" tions of the fever of patriotiſm to the
" moſt violent exceſs.—What kind of pre-
" ſumption is it that has dared to raiſe
" the queſtion which agitates us, and which
" we are not even permitted to decide. All
" the world knows what a terrible criſis was
" produced by atrocious inſults offered to the
" choſen colours of the Nation.—All the
" world knows what mutual congratulations
" took place throughout the whole nation
" when the Monarch ordered the troops to
" wear, and wore himſelf, thoſe glorious
" colours, the token of union to all the
" friends, to all the children of Liberty, to
" all the defenders of the Conſtitution.—*All*
" *the world knows that but a few months*
" *back, nay but a few weeks, the raſh*
" *man who ſhould have dared to ſhew any*
" *diſdain for thoſe enſigns of patriotiſm,*
" *would have loſt his head for his daring.*

" I know not what ſucceſsful art in yeſ-
" terday's Sitting has puffed up counter-
" revolutionary ſpirits. In four-and-twenty
" hours; in one night, all ideas are ſo much
" ſubverted, all principles are become ſo
" monſtrous, ſo much is the public ſpirit

" miſconceived, that there are men who " dare to tell you, and in the face of the " people who hear us, that there are ancient " prejudices which you ought to reſpect, " as if your glory and theirs did not conſiſt " in having annihilated thoſe prejudices for " which they contend! that it is unwor- " thy of the National Aſſembly to attend to " ſuch trifles; as if the language of ſigns " were not every where the moſt power- " ful impellants of men, the chief ſpring " of patriots and conſpirators in their " federations, or their plots! In a word, " they dare coolly ſpeak to you in a lan- " guage which, interpreted, preciſely ſays, " *We think ourſelves ſtrong enough to diſ-* " *play the white colour*, that is to ſay, *the* " *colour of the counter-revolution inſtead* " *of the odious colours of Liberty.*—Cer- " tainly they have preſumed too far. Take " my advice (added he, addreſſing himſelf " to the *Coté-Droit*) and ſleep not in ſo " perilous a ſecurity; *for the awaking will* " *be prompt and terrible.*"

This incendiary ſpeech, of which I have only reported the leading features, was often interrupted by lively applauſes, as well as by the moſt violent murmurs mixed with ſome in-

vectives. The words *villain* and *aſſaſſin* having eſcaped from one of the moſt worthy Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat (M. de Guilhermy)*, immediately raiſed a dreadful ſtorm againſt him. He aſcended the tribune in ſpite of the cries from the Galleries, and the members of the *Coté-Gauche*, who called him to the Bar, and calmly waited to be accuſed. *M. de Menou* did not heſitate to be his accuſer, and declared upon *his faith and honour* that he had heard *M. de Guilhermy* call *Mirabeau* villain and aſſaſſin. "I "move," added he, "for the honour of "the Aſſembly, that they authoriſe their "Preſident to cauſe *M. de Guilhermy* to be "arreſted immediately." *M. de Guilhermy* did not deny the words, but he explained and juſtified them by repeating the expreſſions of *Mirabeau's* ſpeech which had excited his indignation, and had provoked him to ſay that that ſpeech which might cauſe a part of the Members to be aſſaſſinated was the ſpeech of a villain, or an aſſaſſin. "I am willing to believe," ſaid he as he concluded, "that *M. Mirabeau* had "no ſuch meaning in his mind. Let him "retract his ſpeech, I retract mine."

Mirabeau, ſatisfied with this explanation, moved

moved at firſt that the Aſſembly ſhould paſs to the order of the day. But his anger was rekindled when he heard his own ſpeech cenſured with as much energy as juſtice by one of the defenders of *M. de Guilhermy*. "I ſhould be very ſorry," ſaid he, "on this "occaſion to become the accuſer, but I can-"not however conſent to be accuſed. My "language was not only not incendiary, but "I maintain that it was my duty on ſo "criminal an attempt to ſupport the ho-"nour of the national colours, and prevent "the infamy which there is no room to "doubt was hoped from our weakneſs." He then repeated the mildeſt of the expreſſions that had offended. "I repeat it;" added he, "I eſteem it an honour to repeat "it, and woe to him amongſt thoſe that, "like me, have ſworn to die for the Con-"ſtitution, who finds himſelf under the ne-"ceſſity of charging me with it as a crime! "He has revealed the execrable ſecret of his "falſe heart. As to the expreſſion of the "perſon who has ſubjected himſelf to the ſentence of the Aſſembly, the inſult was "too vile to affect me. I moved that we "ſhould paſs to the order of the day, in-"ſtead of troubling ourſelves with his rav-

"ings; and perhaps if he had preſerved "any degree of temper, I ſhould myſelf have "become his advocate. I cannot then be "ſuſpected of a deſire of revenge: but on "reflection I am ſenſible that it is not "proper that a Repreſentative of the Na-"tion ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be carried "away by the firſt emotions of a falſe "generoſity; therefore I not only with-"draw my motion of paſſing to the order "of the day, but I aſk for a ſentence on "*M. de Guilhermy* or myſelf. If he is "innocent I am guilty: decide."

M. de Guilhermy was condemned to be kept under arreſt for three days; and the Aſſembly adopted the plan for a Decree propoſed by *M. Menou* relative to the changing of the national flag, and to the ſending of new civil Commiſſioners, authoriſed by the King, to employ every means, and to take all meaſures neceſſary to the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the ſquadron, and in the town of Breſt. It happened that preciſely on the ſame day the friends of the Conſtitution of Breſt, who had encouraged and ſupported the meeting of the ſailors, fearing that the commotion of which they were loudly accuſed might be the means of ſuppreſſing their club, ſent deputies on board

board all the ſhips charged to invite the crews to ſubmit to the laws, and obey their officers, &c. Theſe deputies immediately obtained a ſucceſs which would have been vainly expected from the authority of the Aſſembly, and ſtill leſs from that of the King. They completely re-eſtabliſhed ſubordination in the ſquadron by the mere promiſe of ſoliciting a reform of ſuch articles in the penal code as diſpleaſed the ſailors. Theſe ſignaliſed their return to order and their joy by cries of *Long live the Nation, the Law, and the King.* The ſociety of the friends of the Conſtitution, better known by the name of *the Jacobin Club*, drew up a minute, in which they ſtated their zeal, their efforts, and their ſucceſs in re-eſtabliſhing order on this occaſion, and ſent a copy of it to the Aſſembly. Several members of the *Coté-Droit* inveighed forcibly againſt the indecency and the danger of permitting a minute, drawn up by any individuals whatſoever whom the law did not authoriſe to employ that form, to be read in the Aſſembly. But theſe remonſtrances were ineffectual: the minute of the club was read, and loudly applauded; it was ordered to be printed, and the Aſſembly authoriſed the Committee of the Navy to preſent

ſent them the following day with "the plan "of a Decree for the alteration of the ar- "ticles of the penal code which had occa- "ſioned the remonſtrances of the ſquadron." They decreed at the ſame time "that the "King ſhould be requeſted to ſuſpend the "execution of the Decree reſpecting the ad- "dition of two civil Commiſſioners to thoſe "at preſent at Breſt, and that the Preſident "ſhould write to the Society of the Friends "of the Conſtitution at Breſt, to the King's "Commiſſioners, and to the corporations "who had contributed to the eſtabliſhment "of order, to expreſs to them the ſatisfac- "tion of the Aſſembly."

On the day that the Aſſembly decreed the tri-coloured flag, and that the ſailors at Breſt, after having been ſix weeks in a ſtate of the moſt ſerious mutiny, made the harbour re-echo with the cries of *Long live the Nation, the Law, and the King*, ſome officers of the garriſon of Béfort, whom the fumes of a regimental feaſt had rendered forgetful of the Conſtitution and patriotiſm, ran through the ſtreets waving a white handkerchief on the point of a ſword, exclaiming *Long live the King, the Devil take the Nation.* They went to the barracks, and ſoon im-

parted

parted their delirium to their men, who had alſo been treating their fellow-ſoldiers. They ſpread themſelves through the town, compelled the inhabitants to repeat their acclamations, and ill-treated thoſe who refuſed, or did it unwillingly; but no perſon was wounded. The officers who had kept themſelves ſober wiſhing to quell the diſorder, repaired to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where the Municipal Officers had already aſſembled; but they were anſwered by inſults, and the doors of the *Hotel-de-Ville* were forced open. However, the Major of the Fort, who arrived at that inſtant, was ſuffered to ſpeak, and being obeyed by the leaders of this jovial band, calm enſued. Unfortunately among thoſe leaders were *M. de la Tour*, Colonel of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, and the Major of the ſame regiment.

M. de Bouillé being informed of what had paſſed at Béfort, arrived there the day following, and put the Colonel, the Major, and two Officers of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, and alſo an Officer of the Lauzun Huſſars under an arreſt for a month, ordered the regiment of Royal Liegeois to march out of the town immediately, and promiſed that the Lauzun Huſſars ſhould alſo march

out

out ſoon. He informed the Court of the ſteps he had taken; and when the Miniſter laid the account of the affair before the King, his Majeſty ordered that all the officers whom *M. de Bouillé* had put under arreſt ſhould be impriſoned, the Colonel for two months, and the others for ſix weeks.

There was, perhaps, never ſo ſevere a military puniſhment inflicted upon officers for faults of this nature committed in a ſtate of intoxication; but the times required this ſeverity, and *M. de la Tour-du-Pin*, who was ſtill Miniſter of War, did not doubt but that the Aſſembly, who four days before had ſhown themſelves ſo indulgent to the ſailors at Breſt, would think the officers of the garriſon of Béfort at leaſt ſufficiently puniſhed by the orders which he communicated to them. There was, however, an eſſential diſtinction between the two affairs. The mutiny at Breſt, criminal as it was, did not only appear excuſable, but meritorious in the eyes of the Factious. To diſavow the authority of the King, to deſpiſe the orders of his Miniſters, to inſult and outrage the officers, were ſo many acts in uniſon with the ſpirit and even the plan of the Revolution. There was, it is true, mingled with it a little diſobedience

diſobedience to ſome articles of the new penal code; but that crime, or rather that error, was rather too ſlight not to be effaced by the repentance of the ſailors. That of the Officers of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, although committed in a ſtate of intoxication, was of a very different nature. It was not ſufficient to be a patriot in cool blood; it was neceſſary to be a patriot even in a delirium. To recall the remembrance of the white flag, by waving a white handkerchief on the point of a ſword; to cry, the devil take the Nation, and to compel the people to repeat theſe impious cries, were evidently counter-revolutionary acts, and conſequently crimes of treaſon againſt the Nation.

Such were in ſubſtance the arguments of the ſpeakers of the *Coté-Gauche* upon theſe two incidents. The reporter of the firſt *(M. de Champagny)* declared according to the opinion of the Committee of the Navy, "that the events which had taken place in Breſt Harbour ought to be conſidered as proceeding leſs from a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and inſubordination than from an uneaſineſs on the points of delicacy and honour; that the articles which had given riſe to that uneaſineſs were not eſſential to the penal code; that they

they might be repealed without inconvenience; and that even juſtice permitted this compliance with the wiſh of men returned to their duty, and who were deſirous of living and dying for their country." He moved in conſequence, that all the articles diſapproved by the ſailors ſhould be annulled, and it was decreed accordingly.

The reporter of the Military Committee *(Muguet de Nanthou)* conſidered, on the contrary, the miſerable orgies of Béfort as a moſt ſerious outrage. "You cannot," ſaid he, "extend your indulgence to the leaders; "France expects a ſevere example; the "Nation are tired of the guilty projects "daily manifeſted by their enemies, and "complain that your juſtice is tardy. Cle- "mency is no longer ſeaſonable; we muſt "check by chaſtiſement thoſe who are not "checked by the fear of deſolating their "country, and whoſe only regret is their "want of ſucceſs. There muſt be an end "put to thoſe factions that rend the body "politic, and which will at laſt weaken, if "they cannot annihilate it. In ſhort, at- "tempts againſt the national will muſt no "longer be ſuffered, and the Decrees ac- "cepted or ſanctioned by the King muſt be "obeyed."

" obeyed."—" It is highly neceſſary," added *Mirabeau*, " to teach thoſe who have dared " to call the national colours *play-things*, " that revolutions are not children's play." The reſult of theſe mad declamations was a Decree purporting that the King ſhould be entreated to give orders that the Colonel and Major of the regiment of the Royal Liegeois, as well as the Fort-Major at Béfort, ſhould be arreſted, and committed to the priſon of the *Abbaye de St. Germain*, as guilty of treaſon againſt the Nation; and that they ſhould be arraigned and tried before the judges, who ſhould be appointed to try the crimes of treaſon againſt the Nation *. The Chatelet had been deprived of that juriſdiction by a Decree of the 25th of October. Thus it only concerned the ſupreme National Court, the formation of which had been alſo decreed.

I have given no account of the different reports that were made to the Aſſembly in the courſe of the months of September and October relative to the troubles which agitated St.

* The Colonel and Major of the regiment of Royal Liegeois informed of this Decree by an extraordinary courier, had happily time to eſcape before *M. de Bouillé* could put it in execution.

Domingo. A circumſtantial hiſtory of the progreſs and the diſaſtrous conſequences of the Revolution in that colony would lead too far to find a place in theſe Memoirs, in which I propoſed ſolely to collect the principal events that occurred in France, and for which I can vouch from the commencement of the Revolution till the death of the King; thoſe being the facts reſpecting which my teſtimony may be more particularly relied upon.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXII.

A Plan of M. de Bouillé's to make the Departments and the Army itſelf deſire that the King ſhould take the Command of the Forces—Another Plan of the Baron de Breteuil's oppoſed by M. de Bouillé, and adopted by the King—Great Debates in the Aſſembly on the Queſtions whether the King ſhould have a Military Houſehold, and whether his Majeſty might take the Command of the Armies—Intrigue of the Jacobins againſt M. de la Fayette—The King's Letter on the Occaſion—Quarrel between M. de Chauvigny and M. Charles de Lameth—The latter is ſlightly wounded in a Duel with the Duke de Caſtries—The Houſe of the Marſhal de

Caſtries pillaged by the Populace—The Municipality, the Sections, and the National Guard go to the Aſſembly, the one to requeſt a Law againſt Duels; the other to demand Vengeance upon the Duke de Caſtries—Theſe Demands applauded—Conſequences—Report upon the Finances—Deputation of the Commune and National Guard; their Object—Denunciation againſt the Biſhop of Nantes—New Oath preſcribed for the Clergy.

THE Court quitted St. Cloud on the 30th of October, and returned to Paris. Two days after their arrival it was known that the diſpute which had ariſen between Spain and England had been finally arranged, by his Catholic Majeſty's conſenting that the Engliſh might form a ſettlement to the North of Nootka Sound, and that they might trade upon that coaſt as far as Cape Mendocin. Thus vaniſhed all apprehenſions of a foreign war, to the King's great ſatisfaction, although perhaps to his undoing. All my doubts in that reſpect relate ſolely to the want of energy and reſolution, of which *Louis XVI.* gave but too many proofs; for I am firmly convinced

vinced that it was only at the head of the army, who would have been brought back to ſubordination by the King's preſence alone, that his Majeſty could expect to recover not only his liberty and dignity, but even the portion of power it might have pleaſed him to preſerve. Some well-choſen words of goodneſs and confidence addreſſed to the military would have ſufficed to revive their former feelings, their enthuſiaſm, I had almoſt ſaid their idolatry for their maſter; they would all have ſhed the very laſt drop of their blood in defence of his perſon and authority.

The Marquis *de Bouillé* was ſo fully perſuaded that it was the only favourable chance remaining for the King, that he then moſt ſeriouſly endeavoured to bring it forward. The idea that occurred to him was to engage the Emperor to march a part of the army intended to reduce Brabant towards the frontier of France. The oſtenſible object of this hoſtile movement was to be the reſtoring the Princes of the Empire, who had poſſeſſions in Alſace, to the rights of which they had been deprived by the Aſſembly. This movement would have authoriſed *M. de Bouillé*, who, ſince the affair of Nancy, had entirely

gained the confidence of the troops of the line, of the National Guards, and of all the inhabitants of the frontier Provinces, to have aſſembled an army compoſed of the beſt regiments. He had already communicated to the members, who had the greateſt influence in the departments which were under his command, the plan he propoſed to purſue in caſe of hoſtilities; and he was certain that as ſoon as the troops were aſſembled according to his order, thoſe departments would ſend an addreſs to the Aſſembly, requiring that the King ſhould put himſelf at the head of the army, of which the Conſtitution had declared him Generaliſſimo, his preſence being abſolutely neceſſary there to repreſs the ſpirit of diſorder and mutiny which prevailed, and the conſequences of which might, at ſuch a critical moment, be fatal. A petition from the army itſelf ſhould have accompanied this addreſs, which would have been ſupported in the Aſſembly, not only by all the members of the *Coté-Droit*, but alſo by ſeveral of the *Coté-Gauche*, and particularly by *Mirabeau*, who at that time was deſirous of making his peace with the Court *.

* Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

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While the Marquis *de Bouillé* was preparing and combining his meaſures for the execution of this plan, the Baron *de Breteuil* propoſed another more dangerous, and which had much leſs chance of ſucceſs. But it was unhappily the King's fate always to prefer weak meaſures, whatever dangers might attend them, to energetic ones even without any danger, and of the latter character certainly were thoſe projected by *M. de Bouillé*. It is evident that the worſt that could have happened from them would not have rendered the King's ſituation more critical.

According to the Baron *de Breteuil's* plan, the King and the Royal Family were to leave Paris ſecretly, and repair to one of the frontier towns of the Provinces, over which the Marquis *de Bouillé's* command extended, and the Marquis was to point out that which he thought the ſafeſt. The King, on his arrival in the town, was to ſummon thither his confidential Miniſters, his faithful ſervants, and the troops that could be relied upon, and he was to uſe every poſſible means of recalling thoſe ſubjects, whom the Factious had miſled, to reaſon and a ſenſe of their duty. The interpoſition of the

Allied Powers was not to be ſolicited till after all conciliatory means had been tried without ſucceſs.

The Biſhop of *Pamiers*, who was ſent by the Baron *de Breteuil* to propoſe this plan to the King, arrived at a juncture the moſt fitted to determine his Majeſty to adopt it; it was at the time when the Miniſters, daily expoſed to the moſt violent perſecutions, were about to be compelled to reſign their places to men more diſpoſed to favour the Revolution, and to ſerve the prevailing Faction. The King fearing, with too much reaſon, that a Council thus compoſed would daily augment the difficulties, the diſguſts, and even the dangers of his ſituation, ſaw in the Baron *de Breteuil's* plan only an innocent means of eſcaping from his ſlavery, and did not heſitate to approve it, in the fulleſt confidence that *M. de Bouillé*, to whom the execution of it was to be confided, would inſure its ſucceſs. And, in fact, was it not natural to hope that a General, who had been attended with glory in every enterpriſe he had undertaken, however hazardous it was, would not fail in the moſt intereſting of all, and the ſucceſs of which he had the moſt at heart.

The Marquis *de Bouillé*, informed of the King's determination by the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, whom his Majeſty had commiſſioned to confer with him upon it, immediately foreſaw the difficulties and dangers attending an attempt of this kind, and the fatal conſequences which would reſult from it if it did not ſucceed; for it might endanger not only the Monarchy, but even the life of the King. "I can render his Majeſty," ſaid he, "thoſe eſſential ſervices which he expects "from my zeal, without having recourſe "to ſuch perilous means." He then diſcloſed the plan which he had formed himſelf; but the Biſhop of *Pamiers* convinced him of the neceſſity of renouncing it, by informing him that the Emperor, and the other Powers in alliance with the King, had formally declared their unanimous reſolution to wait till his Majeſty ſhould be out of Paris, and at full liberty, before they undertook to act. The King had fixed on the month of March following for the time of his departure, in order to allow *M. de Bouillé* time to make every neceſſary preparation, and to concert with his Majeſty, who from that moment maintained a ſecret and regular correſpondence with him reſpecting the journey

to Montmedy, which was the town pointed out by *M. de Bouillé* as that to which the King might proceed with the leaſt riſk *.

Unfortunately the Factious were no leſs aware than *M. de Bouillé* that the only reſource which remained for the King to recover his authority was to place himſelf at the head of the army. In times of peace this would have been the ſignal for civil war, and they too well knew the character of *Louis XVI.* not to be convinced that he could never determine upon that; but they did not ſee leſs danger for themſelves in his taking the command of the army, even in caſe of a foreign war; and the means of depriving him of the power of it ſoon became an object for the determination of the Aſſembly.

This important queſtion was debated in the Sitting of the 11th of November upon the denunciation of the pretended alarms cauſed by the report ſpread that the King was about to form a new guard. Teſtimonies of love and regard for the King, as ſtale as hypocritical, were mixed with this denunciation, and veiled its motives. "A military

* See the Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

"houſehold,"

"houſehold," it was ſaid, "is an armed "houſehold, and an armed houſehold is uſe- "leſs to a King beloved by all the citizens "of the empire. The King of the French "is adored by all the French. All would "unite to guard him; any diſtinction what- "ever would be invidious, and the guard of "the King of the French is but a guard of "honour." It was demanded in conſe- quence that the Military Committee, and that of the Conſtitution together, ſhould be charged to make a report on the queſtion whether it would be proper to create a guard of honour for the King? and if ſo, by whom and in what manner it ought to be formed?

This motion, made by the Deputy *Biauzat*, was powerfully ſupported by *Alexander de Beauharnois*, and by *Alexander de Lameth*; the firſt of theſe *Alexanders* looked with dread on an armed force deſtined to execute the will of a ſingle man; and, according to his idea, to grant a military houſehold to the King, was to break the neceſſary *balance between the powers, without any advantage to the public tranquillity, and with certain danger to the National Liberty*. He concluded that it would probably be the opinion of the Committees that the King

King ſhould have no military houſehold, and he waited to defend the report ſhould it be oppoſed. "I have another obſervation to "make," added he: "It is neceſſary that "we ſhould decree that under no circum-"ſtance whatſoever the King ſhall command "the troops in perſon." At theſe words the ſpeaker was interrupted, but not diſconcerted by the murmurs and indignation of all the Members of the *Coté-Droit*. It was not to pleaſe them he wiſhed, but the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the patriots of the galleries, and by theſe he was loudly applauded, when he obſerved in ſupport of his motion "that peace could only be ſecured by the reſponſibility of the agents of the Executive Power; that if a Miniſter or a General ſhould commence hoſtilities, their heads might be made to anſwer for their crime; whereas the King at the head of the army might, if he pleaſed, plunge the Nation into a diſaſtrous war, and no guilty perſon be puniſhable on account of the Monarch's inviolability."

M. Malouet oppoſed theſe different propoſitions with energy. He inſiſted upon the indecency of debating whether the King ſhould or ſhould not have a military houſehold. He maintained that the buſineſs of

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the Aſſembly was only to determine the number of men of which that houſehold ſhould conſiſt; that the very idea of depriving the King of the right of commanding his armies in perſon was ſufficient to grieve and alarm every good citizen, becauſe, if adopted, it would neceſſarily lead to the diſſolution of the monarchical ſtate, under which the people had choſen to live. "Whither are we to "be led then," ſaid he, "with all theſe "motions? When will there be an end of "this Revolution, which inceſſantly con-"tradicts its principles? When will this "threatening fermentation ceaſe, which keeps "the French Nation in conſtant convulſions? "You are continually told of imaginary "counter-revolutions, but I announce a real "one; that which at this moment the agi-"tation of the public mind is preparing, "which, after having diſorganized the State, "will make retrograde motions; and then "the people, become furious, will break "out againſt their pretended friends, from "whom they may perhaps demand" . . . . The murmurs and clamours which had often interrupted him were redoubled at this moment with ſo much violence, that they prevented his concluding this ſentence. He

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finiſhed by moving, that the Committees ſhould be only charged to make a report concerning the number of men of which the King's guard ſhould conſiſt.

Alexander de Lameth then roſe, and delivered a ſpeech, which deſerves the more to be known, as it gives a very exact idea of his principles and revolutionary talents.

" Perhaps," ſaid he, " it would be eaſy " to prove, if we choſe to diſcuſs that point, " that far from degrading royalty, the pro- " poſition of *M. de Beauharnois* tends to " preſerve its true character; that the King, " ſupreme chief of all the parts of the " Executive Power, ſhould not ceaſe to ſu- " perintend the whole, and become himſelf " the actor in one branch only; that he " ſhould not ceaſe to be the centre of the " Conſtitution, and go to a diſtance from his " people to exerciſe functions incompatible " with the inviolability which you have " conſecrated; and that the pretended right " now claimed for him is only that of ab- " dicating the dignity of King to veſt him " with the character of a General of the " army. But laying this queſtion aſide for " the preſent, I think it my duty to call the " attention of the Aſſembly to the ſyſtem

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" of ſome individuals, who wiſh to repre-
" ſent the friends of Liberty as enemies to
" Royalty."—" Yes, yes," cried ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Droit*.—" No, no," replied *Alexander de Lameth*, ſupported by all the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*;
" no, the King's friends are not thoſe who
" unceaſingly claim that title. The King's
" friends are thoſe who have deſtroyed the
" Parliaments, thoſe who have deſtroyed
" the order of the Clergy, thoſe who, by
" deſtroying the monuments of the feudal
" ſyſtem, have put an end to that eternal ri-
" valry between the Throne and the Ariſto-
" cracy, and broken the barriers which for
" ſo long a time ſeparated the King and the
" people. Yes, I repeat it, as one of our
" colleagues obſerved with no leſs eloquence
" than truth, that the natural alliance, the
" ſacred and laſting alliance, is that of the
" Monarch and of the people, and of that
" you have laid the foundation; you have
" cemented it for ever by deſtroying all the
" intermediate tyrannies which ignorance
" and uſurpation had placed between them.
" We are not dupes of the patriotic ſolici-
" tude of the laſt ſpeaker, who pretends to
" fear that the Nation may become tired of

" Liberty, and, returning into the old track,
" abandon thoſe who have conſtantly de-
" voted themſelves to their intereſts. If we
" attend to *M. Malouet*, we muſt take care
" not to weary the people with alarms. Ac-
" cording to his idea we ſhould think no more
" of commotions—of a counter-revolution.
" Alas! at what a time does he recommend
" this dangerous ſecurity? At the moment
" when the enemies of the country do not
" bluſh to march under the ſtandards of a
" guilty Miniſter—when *M. de Calonne*
" flies through the neighbouring countries
" to unite all the elements of counter-revo-
" lution. But let *M. Malouet* ſet his mind
" at reſt; for we ſhall not ceaſe to watch, to
" combat, and, if neceſſary, to periſh for
" the intereſts of the people, and the com-
" pletion of the Revolution.—In reſpect to
" the King's guard, I have to tell you that
" the Military Committee, informed of the
" fermentation excited in Paris by the re-
" ports of an approaching change in the
" National Guards; recollecting their con-
" ſtant and ſignal ſervices in the defence of
" Liberty, and the maintenance of good
" order in times the moſt ſtormy; recollect-
" ing the reiterated teſtimonies of ſatisfac-

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" tion that you have given to their indefati-
" gable zeal, have charged me to propoſe to
" you to refer to your Military and Con-
" ſtitutional Committees whatever relates to
" the formation of the military houſehold.
" In reſpect to that part of the National
" Guard known by the name of the *Paid*
" *Guards (Garde-Soldée,* formerly the
" *Gardes Françaiſes),* whom ſome men
" have endeavoured to render uneaſy about
" their future lot, let them confidently repoſe
" upon the National Aſſembly, who will
" not forget their ſervices in the Revolution;
" and whatever arrangements may be adopted
" in regard to the King's military houſehold,
" this part of the National Guard may reſt
" aſſured that their intereſts will not be for-
" gotten."

This ſpeech, interrupted at almoſt every ſentence by the applauſes of the Galleries, of the Members of the *Coté-Gauche,* and by the moſt tumultuous tranſports of joy, concluded the debate, and determined the Aſſembly to refer to the Military and Conſtitutional Committees the motion made by *Alexander de Beauharnois;* as well as that which concerned the King's military houſehold. The Members of the *Coté-Droit* took no part in the

the determination, and one of them (*M. de Foucault*) even required that their not taking a part ſhould be certified; but his motion, though ſeconded, was not put to the vote.

Theſe alarms which agitated the Nation, and particularly the old French Guards (*Garde Soldée*), were the effect of an intrigue formed againſt *M. de la Fayette* by his rivals in popularity. The agents of the Club of Jacobins, from which he had for ſome time abſented himſelf, had ſpread a report that he was engaged in forming a military houſehold for the King, and that ambitious views had cauſed him to conſent to exclude the *Garde Nationale Soldée* from this new corps, which it was ſaid was to conſiſt of 6000 men, and to be principally compoſed of ſuch of the *Garde Françaiſes* as had reſolved not to enter into the National Guard. Theſe reports became ſo ſerious, as to determine the Council-General of the Commune to demand from *M. de la Fayette* the moſt explicit account of this ſubject, in an extraordinary Sitting which he was deſired to attend on the 10th of November. He gave proofs the moſt likely to diſſipate all uneaſineſs relative to his conduct, to his perſonal views, and to the King's intentions,

contained

contained in a letter from his Majeſty, which he produced, and of which he had already made uſe to pacify the *Garde Soldée*. This letter was couched in the following terms:

" I appriſe you, Sir, that when I form the " infantry of my military houſehold, my " intention is to admit, as you propoſed to " me, the *Grenadiers Soldés* of the Na- " tional Guard of Paris, and a part of the " *centre companies*. I ſhall conſult you on " this buſineſs at the time I expect to carry " it into execution, as well as on the ſer- " vice of the volunteers of the different Na- " tional Guards. You know that my in- " tention has always been that they ſhould " do duty about my perſon wherever I am."

The following day this letter, and all the information given by *M. de la Fayette* on the ſubject, were made public by a long proclamation compoſed by the Council-General of the Commune; ſo that the motion made the ſame day by the Deputy *Biauzat* in the National Aſſembly, relative to the King's military houſehold, evidently had no object but that of ſerving as a preamble or introduction to

the more important motion of *Alexander de Beauharnois*. It is obſervable too, that they both entered into the plan of attack directed at that period againſt the Miniſters, whoſe enemies enraged at not ſucceeding in having their diſmiſſion demanded by a Decree, flattered themſelves that they ſhould compel them to reſign, by giving them to underſtand that all theſe motions, ſo offenſive to the King, were ſuggeſted and juſtified by the diſtruſt they created.

At the time that *Alexander de Lameth* was arrogantly declaring from the tribune that he was *ready to fight, and to periſh, if neceſſary, for the intereſt of the people, and for the completion of the Revolution*, *Charles de Lameth*, his brother, ſtrictly faithful to the ſame cauſe, was poſtponing till after the Seſſion a challenge given to him in the moſt preſſing terms by *M. Chauvigny de Blot*. The origin of this quarrel took place at the time of the convocation of the Bailiwicks for the nomination of deputies to the States-General. *M. de Lameth* and *M. de Chauvigny* were at the Bailiwick Aſſembly of Senlis, and *M. de Chauvigny* complained that having been placed in the liſt of

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the electors of the nobility, he had been declared ineligible by an observation made by *M. de Lameth*, that he had not the qualifications required by the regulation. *M. de Chauvigny* had been travelling ever since the time, and perhaps at his return did not recollect, or did not consider the disagreement at Senlis as an offence, till the person who had given it had by his conduct in the Assembly become the object of reproach to all the nobility of the kingdom. Be that as it may, on the 11th of November *M. de Chauvigny* sent for *Charles de Lameth* to the door of the Assembly, and put him in mind of what had passed between them at Senlis. "It was by you," added he, "that the regiment of *Mestre-de-Camp*, in which I have the honour to serve, was corrupted, and led to revolt; it was by you, by your perfidious manœuvres, that the Officers faithful to the King were, during several hours, on the point of being massacred. I am one of that number, and I come to demand satisfaction for it."- *Charles de Lameth* in vain attempted to justify himself; his adversary was determined to fight, and desired that he would appoint the time and place. "As you have waited till now to complain

of the circumſtance with which you charge me," ſaid *Charles de Lameth*, "you may ſtill wait till the end of the Seſſion; I ſhall then attend you, but not ſooner."—"I will every where proclaim you a coward."—"I have been already tried; you will not be believed."—"Tried or not, your anſwer is ſtill that of a coward, and I ſhall make it public."—"But I ſhall conſult my friends, and act according to their advice."—He ſaid that the friends whom he conſulted approved of his conduct in every point; but unfortunately he was imprudent enough to ſay alſo that this quarrel had been provoked by the Duke *de Caſtries*, who, not daring to attack him openly, had choſen *M. de Chauvigny* for his champion. The Duke *de Caſtries*, who was a Member of the Aſſembly, was immediately informed of this remark; and the next day, at the breaking up of the Sitting, demanded ſatisfaction for it of *Charles de Lameth*. The inſult was too ſerious and too recent to allow of any delay in giving it. The duel was fought the ſame day in the *Champ de Mars*, and ended in an inſtant by a ſlight wound which *Charles de Lameth* received in his left arm, and which drew from him the moſt piercing cries.

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This duel, the cauſe and circumſtances of which were reported in a thouſand different ways, ſet the whole capital in an uproar, and became the ſubject of the deliberations of the Commune of all the Sections, of the Jacobin Club, and of the groups of the *Palais-Royal*. The moſt ridiculous alarms were ſpread concerning the conſequences that might attend this fatal wound, and the extraordinary pain it had cauſed gave riſe to the moſt injurious ſuſpicions againſt the Duke *de Caſtries*. The populace on all ſides vented the moſt furious imprecations againſt him, while meſſages and even deputations from the different Sections were conſtantly ſent to *Charles de Lameth's* houſe to inquire the ſtate of his health, and to teſtify to him the lively intereſt which every good patriot took in the preſervation of their beloved defender. The following day the good patriots were not content with ſympathiſing with him, they reſolved to avenge him. An immenſe mob went to the *Hotel de Caſtries*, and forced the gates, in ſpite of the repreſentations of the National Guard, who were too weak to reſiſt, even had they been inclined. In leſs than an hour all the furniture in the houſe was broken into a thouſand

pieces, and thrown out of the windows, except a portrait of the King, which had been given by his Majeſty to the Marſhal *de Caſtries*. The mob quietly retired when there was nothing more to break. The actors in this ſcene of deſtruction, as they quitted the *Hotel de Caſtries*, affected to be ſearched by the guard, that it might be clearly ſeen, ſaid they, *that it was not for the purpoſe of pillage they came, but to exerciſe an act of national vengeance.*

It was generally obſerved that this outrage was committed with much leſs impetuoſity and diſorder than all thoſe that had preceded it; and it was conſidered rather as the execution of a plan coolly concerted than as the effect of a ſudden and unexpected exploſion of popular fury. A circumſtance, of which no doubt the *Lameths* were entirely ignorant, contributed not a little to confirm this conjecture. A perſon of the name of *Clermont*, known to be their confidential revolutionary agent, had been ſeen among the leaders of the mob, and it was not doubted but that he was the principal inſtigator of it *.

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* This man was formerly a Confectioner, and vender of *liqueurs*. He had attached himſelf to the *Lameths*, and

The Aſſembly were informed of what was paſſing at the *Hotel de Caſtries* when it was too late to prevent it. Scarcely was this new inſurrection announced, when the brigands, who were on that day aſſembled in great numbers in the Galleries, made the Hall ring with their ferocious applauſes. A Deputy of the Nobility *(M. de Murinais)* declared that the example, or the ſignal for this clapping, had been given by Members of the Aſſembly; but this aſſertion, contradicted by ſome party clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*, had no further conſequences. The Preſident impoſed ſilence on the Galleries, and threatened them to give the ſtricteſt orders to keep them ſilent. The news arrived at this mo-

and under their direction employed a certain number of truſty agents to *enlighten* and direct the public opinion, or rather the popular opinion; for they only frequented coffee-houſes, public-houſes, and groups in the gardens. At the diſſolution of the firſt Aſſembly, the *Lameths* recommended this man and his *machinery* to *M. de Leſſart*, who employed him under the name of *Giles* with the King's approbation. When *M. de Leſſart* was impeached, his Majeſty deſired that I would continue to employ *Giles* and his agents. He appeared to me very intelligent and devoted to the King, and I made uſe of him for ſeveral months. I did not then know that the name of *Giles* was not his real name, and little ſuſpected that *Giles* and *Clermont* was the ſame perſon.

ment that the 40,000 perſons, men and women, who had been deſtroying the *Hotel de Caſtries*, had retired, and that order was re-eſtabliſhed. The Aſſembly clapped their hands at this intelligence, and broke up the Sitting, without deliberating upon a Decree which the Abbé *Maury* had moved for the prevention of ſimilar outrages.

The ſame day, at the opening of the Evening Sitting, a deputation from the battalion of the Section of Bonne-Nouvelle were admitted to the Bar. The object of their miſſion was to ſolicit a Decree, enacting that for the future no Member of the Aſſembly ſhall be challenged to fight in any caſe, or under any pretext whatſoever, and that whoever ſhould dare to lift a ſacrilegious hand againſt a Member, ſhould be declared guilty of treaſon againſt the Nation, and as ſuch delivered over to the vengeance of the laws. But theſe ſolicitations were only a ſecondary conſideration with the deputation, their chief object being directed againſt the Duke *de Caſtries*, whom the patriots of the Section of Bonne-Nouvelle did not think ſufficiently puniſhed. "This man," ſaid their ſpeaker, "at whoſe "name all the friends of the Conſtitution "will henceforth be ſhocked, has dared to

"call

" call *M. Charles de Lameth* out, without " reſpect to *his virtues*, and ſtill leſs to " his character. It is againſt this preſump- " tuous man that the battalion of Bonne- " Nouvelle, who are but the organ of all " the patriots of France, come to demand " vengeance."

The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* ſo far forgot themſelves as to interrupt the ſpeaker at this ſentence by the moſt ſhameful applauſes. A Deputy, hitherto remarked for his moderation *(M. Roy)*, was ſo ſhocked at this indecent behaviour, that he could not help ſaying in a very loud voice, " *that none but villains could have given theſe applauſes.*" Theſe words excited the moſt violent murmurs among the *Coté-Gauche*, mixed with cries of " *To the Abbaye, to the Abbaye.*" Theſe cries were brought forward in the ſhape of a regular motion by *Barnave*, as ſoon as the ſpeaker of the battalion had finiſhed his harangue, and the Preſident had anſwered him. *M. Malouet* and *Mirabeau* preſented themſelves at once at the tribune, and contended for the priority of ſpeech. *M. Malouet* having obtained it, *Mirabeau* ſaid to him: " *Let me have your*

your place, I mean to ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe as yourſelf, and ſhall be more ſucceſsful." Upon this aſſurance *M. Malouet* conſented to withdraw. The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, deceived by the ſudden motion and angry countenance of *Mirabeau*, thought that he had taken poſſeſſion of the tribune by force, and cried out ſeveral times, *Down with the villain; make way for M. Malouet.* *Mirabeau* perſiſting to keep poſſeſſion of the tribune, he was again abuſed, on which he became enraged beyond expreſſion; and inſtead of thundering againſt the incendiaries of the *Hotel de Caſtries*, and againſt their guilty defenders, he turned all his fury againſt the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and pointing at them, cried: *Would you know the real incendiaries, there they are . . . The good people who are calumniated*, and ſo forth. He continued in this ſtyle, ſupported the motion of *Barnave* with vehemence, and the worthy *M. Roy* was condemned to three days impriſonment.

When *Mirabeau* deſcended from the tribune, *M. Malouet*, highly offended, reproached him ſeverely for his deceit. "I am aſhamed of it," replied he, "but you muſt

muſt be angry with thoſe Gentlemen, it was impoſſible for me to vote with people that would tear me to pieces."

M. Bailly alſo appeared at the Bar at the head of a deputation of twelve members of the Municipality, and entreated the Aſſembly to make a law as ſoon as poſſible againſt duels; but neither the Duke *de Caſtries*, or *Charles de Lameth*, were named or alluded to in this petition, although their duel was evidently the occaſion of it. If the iſſue of this combat had been different, and the Duke *de Caſtries*, inſtead of ſlightly wounding *Charles de Lameth* in the arm, had been himſelf mortally wounded, it is more than probable that the people would not have troubled themſelves about the matter; that the Municipality, the Sections, and the National Guard, far from feeling and repreſenting in ſo lively a manner the neceſſity of a law againſt duels, would not have thought more of it than they had done ſome months before when *M. de Cazalès*, in his duel with *Barnave*, received a ball in the middle of his forehead.

Nothing, however, was ordained relative to duels, and the firſt report of conſequence which occupied the Aſſembly was that of the Committee

Committee of Finances concerning the expences of the year 1791, and the means of providing for them. The Deputy charged with this report *(M. Le Brun)* was unqueſtionably the moſt able man in the Aſſembly to execute that taſk. He did not conceal the difficulties of it. How, indeed, could certain calculations be fixed upon probabilities and conjectures? How could expences which the troubles, inſurrections, and general diſorder might every moment augment to an incalculable degree, be eſtimated even approximately? How was a ſtatement of fixed receipts to be preſented when the receiving of the taxes was not ſurer than the execution of the laws, when the ſtagnation of commerce and the ſudden interruption of luxury daily diminiſhed the produce of the duties to which they were ſubject; in a word, when that confidence which alone feeds and preſerves the public income, was entirely annihilated? Therefore *M. Le Brun* confined himſelf to delivering in a ſtatement of the public expences which might be regarded as fixed, and which amounted in the whole to the ſum of 566,271,646 livres*, excluſive

* See this ſtatement, Appendix, No. xi.

of

of thoſe attending the adminiſtration of juſtice, the offices of Government, the collecting the taxes, the adminiſtration in the departments, and the expences of the roads. The charge of all thoſe objects, yet undecided and variable, were to be left to the departments. The unforeſeen and caſual expences were alſo omitted in this ſtatement.

With reſpect to the receipts, the reporter contented himſelf with obſerving that the revenue of the national property might be valued at leaſt at 40 millions, and the amount of the taxes neceſſary to be impoſed ſhould be fixed at 526,272,000 livres. The contribution of the eſtates of the Clergy, and the contribution from the funds and priviledged perſons, appeared to him more than ſufficient to provide for the expences attending the adminiſtration of juſtice, the expences of the Government, and of collecting the taxes. This report was highly applauded, and the debate upon it adjourned.

In the Evening Sitting of the ſame day, the Committee appointed for the affair of Avignon and the Diplomatic Committee not having been able to agree upon the petition of the people of Avignon, tending to an union of the Comtat with France, the diſcuſſion

cuſſion was opened on that queſtion, and drew on debates which, after having laſted ſeveral Sittings, were terminated by a Decree adjourning the determination, and ordering that the King ſhould be requeſted to ſend French troops to Avignon, to protect, under his orders the French eſtabliſhments, and maintain the public peace in concert with the Municipal Officers. It was alſo decreed that the priſoners from Avignon confined in the priſons of Orange ſhould be ſet at liberty.

During the diſcuſſion of this affair, the Council-General of the Commune of Paris introduced by *M. Bailly*, and a deputation of the battalions of the National Guard, with *M. de la Fayette* at their head, were admitted to the Bar. The firſt of theſe deputations came to entreat the Aſſembly to proceed to the paſſing of a general law of police, which they had already promiſed ſeveral times, on the repeated ſolicitations of the Municipality. "A neceſſary law," ſaid the ſpeaker, "as "our dangers are great, multiplied, and "daily augmenting; in fine, a neceſſary law "for the ſafety of this capital, whoſe com-"motions are felt throughout the empire, the "peace and good order of which are con-"fided to us. It is the law which muſt

"anſwer

" anſwer for thoſe; we only anſwer for the " execution of the law . . . Paris has proved " that it contains a fund of patriotiſm and " virtue, but Paris is alſo the refuge of all " ſorts of crimes, which here conceal them- " ſelves in the ſhade, and are undiſtinguiſh- " ed in the multitude," &c. &c.

This law was in fact the more neceſſary, as, ſince the abolition of the ancient and admirable Police of Paris, which had been ſucceſſively perfected by the experience and wiſdom of the ableſt magiſtrates, all in this Police had been ſubject to partial, arbitrary, and often contradictory deciſions.

The ſpeaker of the deputation of the Council-General of the Commune called the attention of the Aſſembly to another object not leſs urgent. " It is a month," ſaid he, " ſince the old Courts have been ſuppreſſed, " a ſtill greater length of time will elapſe be- " fore the new ones are eſtabliſhed: mean- " while the accuſed have no judges; the " priſons are full; new ones have been pro- " vided; the priſoners are crouded together, " and diſeaſe is ready to pronounce ſentence " of death. They are in deſpair, and are " continually crying out *to be put to death* " *or tried.* All theſe men agitated, tortured

" by wretchedneſs, beg daily that an end " may be put to it.—They are ready to riſe " againſt their gaolers; there is no ſaying " how ſoon an inſurrection may let them " looſe upon the capital.—We moſt earneſtly " entreat the National Aſſembly to eſtabliſh " a proviſional tribunal, or grant a juriſdic- " tion to one of the ſuperior Courts which " ſtill exiſt.—In a word, to appoint judges " who may clear the priſons by the juſti- " fication of innocence, or by examples of " juſtice."

The object of the deputation of the National Guard was not leſs remarkable, as may be perceived by the following extracts from *M. de la Fayette's* ſpeech.

" We have all promiſed to the country " our arms, to the law our ſubmiſſion, to " Heaven our Liberty; but theſe arms, this " ſubmiſſion, this liberty ſtand in need of " being directed by you. All our duties re- " main in a ſtate of confuſion, and however " purely devoted we are to them, however " indefatigable be our zeal, the firſt requi- " ſite for fulfilling a duty is to know it well. " The organization of the National Guard " only can put an end to this uncertainty.— " Permit us to repreſent to you that it is

" perhaps upon that operation depends the " return of order, without which your la- " bour and ours would be fruitleſs.—We " frankly tell you that we are ignorant of " the nature, degree, and form of pro- " tection to be afforded by the National " Guard to the levying of the contributions; " or how we can enſure the execution of " your Decrees ſo important, and compel the " citizen who evades to ſubmit to them.— " Haſten then, Gentlemen, to engage our civic " and military honour, to defend our public, " and to ſacrifice our private intereſts.—The " ſentiment that permits us to join the pride " of a free ſoldier to the warlike functions " of an obedient citizen waits only till you " have traced out the laws by which they " are to be ruled, and which we ſwear to " you we will reſpect and maintain."

The Aſſembly unanimouſly applauded the ſpeeches of *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*, ordered them to be printed, and promiſed to take them into ſerious conſideration. Hiſtory ought alſo to ſecure them as authentic monuments, or rather as convincing vouchers, which completely expoſe the arrogant inability and the criminal raſhneſs of theſe legiſlators of a day, of that Aſſembly who

called themſelves *conſtituent* (or conſtitution-makers), who thought themſelves the wiſeſt and moſt auguſt in the world, and who, in the profound and difficult ſcience of legiſlation, have diſplayed no other talent, no other plan than that of aboliſhing the Conſtitution, and all the exiſting laws, in order to ſubſtitute for them a code of rebellion and anarchy. The two petitions which I have juſt mentioned prove on this point three facts of great importance:

1ſt, That ever ſince the month of July 1789, the ancient ſyſtem of the Police of Paris had been annihilated, and that at the end of the month of November in the following year the Aſſembly had not begun to eſtabliſh a Police for the capital.

2dly, That from the month of Auguſt 1789, the people had been armed throughout the kingdom by virtue of the Decrees of the Aſſembly, and that at the end of the year 1790 that army of three millions of men was not organized, nor were the uſe and ſervice of that immenſe force yet regulated.

3dly, That on the 1ſt of October 1790, all the Parliaments were ſuppreſſed except that of Paris, which was alſo ſuppreſſed on

the

the 15th of the ſame month, and at the end of the month of November the new tribunals which were to be ſubſtituted for thoſe Courts were not yet eſtabliſhed: the adminiſtration of juſtice, both civil and criminal, was ſuſpended; the priſoners crouded in all the priſons were periſhing with diſeaſe, and throughout France there was not a ſingle Court of dernier reſort *.

Was it not ſhocking to find the Aſſembly neglecting ſuch preſſing objects, while they

* The only meaſure which the Aſſembly thought it their duty to take, upon the report made to them by the petition of the Council-General of the Commune, was to authoriſe the Municipality proviſionally to make uſe of the priſons at Vincennes, and to remove thither ſuch priſoners as the priſons of Paris could not contain.—*(Decree of the 20th of November.)*—The priſoners of the *Conciergerie* ſent a petition to the Aſſembly in ſupport of that of the Council-General of the Commune, and demanded the enlargement of thoſe among them detained for *further trial.* The Aſſembly taking their demand into conſideration, decreed on the 1ſt of December that in the mean time, and until the eſtabliſhment of the tribunals of the department of Paris, the Judges already elected, as well as thoſe to be hereafter elected, aſſembling to the number of ten, ſhould form a proviſional tribunal to try only the criminal cauſes removed by appeal to the late Parliament of Paris, and in preference the priſoners detained for *further examination*, the term of which was expired.

conſumed whole Sittings in trifling debates, in indecent wranglings, and made Decree upon Decree to multiply not only in France, but in the four quarters of the globe, oaths to a new Conſtitution which was ſcarcely begun, and which before its completion might undergo corrections and changes without number *.

How much time was loſt every day in hearing the abſurd and falſe reports of the Committee of Inquiry, and deputations of all kinds, who were conſtantly admitted to the honours of the Sitting when they came to make any denunciation againſt the Miniſters, the Nobility, or the Clergy! The uſurpation of all the eccleſiaſtical property did not ſatisfy the ambition of the Aſſembly: they wiſhed alſo to be maſters of the ſpiritual power, in order to organize Religion, like the Monarchy, as they pleaſed, and to place the Clergy of France in the alternative of martyrdom or apoſtacy, as they

* All the Ambaſſadors, Miniſters, Envoys, Reſidents, Conſuls, or Agents in Foreign States, and their French ſecretaries, clerks, and ſervants, ſhould ſend to the National Aſſembly, or to the next Legiſlature, an act containing their civic oath, &c. &c.—*(Decree of the 17th of November 1790.)*

had

had placed the Nobility between diſhonour and exile. This plan was unfolded and executed with the moſt perfidious hypocriſy in the laſt Sittings of the month of November, upon a report of the Committee of Inquiry, to which a denunciation againſt the Biſhop of *Nantz* ſerved as an introduction.

A deputation from the department of the Lower Loire appeared at the Bar in the Evening Sitting of the 26th of November, and accuſed the Biſhop of *Nantz* of having proteſted againſt the authority of the Nation, and of having formally refuſed to execute the Decrees of the Aſſembly. "We ſent a deputation to him," ſaid the ſpeaker, "who addreſſed him with all poſſible reſpect: and his anſwer to us was, that he did not acknowledge the authority of the National Aſſembly in eccleſiaſtical matters, but that he reſpected it in all things foreign to religion."

It ſeems that while the department was deliberating upon this anſwer, more than 2000 perſons had gone to them to demand that the Biſhop, who had already left *Nantz*, ſhould be arreſted, and conducted under a ſafe and ſure guard to the National Aſſembly. The deputation of the department, the faithful

organ of that mob, alſo beſought the Aſſembly to decree that the Biſhop of *Nantz* ſhould be immediately arreſted and proſecuted, and that the body of electors ſhould be authoriſed to proceed without delay to the nomination of a new Biſhop.

The Preſident made a long anſwer to the ſpeaker, of which the laſt ſentence contained the whole ſubſtance, diveſted of the revolutionary pathos. "*The paſt* conduct of the "National Aſſembly is a ſecurity for its fu- "ture conduct; juſtice dictates their laws, "and their firmneſs ſhall maintain them."

The Deputy *Voidel* then ſpoke in the name of the united Committees of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, of Alienation, of Reports, and of Inquiry. He opened with the moſt pompous eulogiums upon religion and the goſpel, the religious and civil maxims, of which he pretended the Aſſembly had conſecrated in the declaration of the rights of man, in the Conſtitution, and above all, in the Decree for the civil organization of the Clergy. "I thought it my duty," ſaid he, "to begin with this public and ſincere ho- "mage to the religion of my fathers a re- "port, in which I ſhall be obliged to inveigh "loudly againſt the crimes of thoſe charged "with

" with teaching it, who ſcandalize it by " their conduct, and who make it appear " odious to ſuperficial or corrupt men un- " acquainted with it, who only ſee in it the " errors of its miniſters."

This report was in fact nothing more than a groſs and violent libel againſt the Clergy in general, and againſt its principal members, almoſt all of whom the ſpeaker reviewed, denouncing their acts of courage, of piety, and of virtue, as ſo many crimes. He concluded this infamous libel with the following apoſtrophe.

" Miniſters of religion! ceaſe to ſhroud " yourſelf with pretences, and acknowledge " your weakneſs; you regret your former opu- " lence, you regret your prerogatives, thoſe " marks of diſtinction and pretended pre- " eminence, all thoſe vain baubles which " degraded the houſe of the Lord. Re- " member that the Revolution has made us " men; that we will no longer proſtitute " our admiration, no longer offer incenſe to " idols of pride. Compel us to reſpect you " by the force of virtue. You have no " longer any other means of obtaining that " reſpect. Forget your ancient errors, re-

" nounce your prejudices, think no more of " thoſe eſtates which you have loſt. They " are about to be ſold; for in ſpite of your " efforts the Nation know that the warranty " of a great people is ſurer than your pre- " dictions: they never will forget that the " firſt act of power done in their name by " their repreſentatives was to ſecure the ſo- " lidity of their engagements. You have " yet time; diſarm by your ſubmiſſion the " anger of a people irritated by your reſiſt- " ance. The Decree which I am now going " to propoſe may be conſidered more as an " indulgent meaſure than a ſevere law."

This Decree, which was compoſed of eight articles, " enjoined the Biſhops, Grand " Vicars, Superiors, Directors, and Pro- " feſſors in ſeminaries and colleges, Pariſh " Prieſts, Curates, and other Eccleſiaſtics con- " tinuing the public exerciſe of their func- " tions, to take the oath required of them " concerning the civil conſtitution of the " Clergy as ſoon as poſſible, on pain of for- " feiting their offices, which ſhould be filled " up as in caſes of vacancy by reſignation." The Decree foreſaw caſes in which ſome Biſhops, Pariſh Prieſts, &c without taking the

the oath, or not attending to it, would continue to exercise their functions, it was therefore ordained "that the delinquents should be prose-
"cuted in the Courts of the district as rebels
"to the law, declared to have forfeited the
"rights of active citizens, to be incapable
"of holding any public office, and should
"be punished by privation of their sti-
"pends, and other greater penalties, ac-
"cording to the exigence and heinousness of
"the case."

The discussion of this important affair occupied two whole Evening Sittings. The opinion of the Committees was powerfully supported by the principal speakers of the *Coté-Gauche*, and with as much hypocrisy as the Deputy *Voidel* had introduced into his report. The Abbé *Maury* and the Abbé *de Montesquiou* defended the rights of the Church with equal eloquence and solidity of reasoning. They demonstrated by irrefragable arguments, answered only by abuse and murmurs, the necessity of the canonical forms to the spiritual power: and as to all the innovations which the Assembly thought of making, they desired them at least to wait an answer from the *Pope*, to whom, it was

asserted

aſſerted the King had written *. The pious Biſhop of *Clermont*, who ſpoke before them, had alſo defended the intereſts of religion with that ſimple apoſtolic eloquence which characteriſed the paſtors of the primitive church. "We will never riſe," ſaid he, "to defend our ſubſiſtence: you owe it "us, as all our property is at your diſpoſal. "Our conduct ſhall only diſplay patience "and reſignation.—It is with intereſts, as "with evils, the greater abſorb the leſs. We "do not think ourſelves when the queſtion "relates to the rights of the Church which "you have expoſed to danger in your civil "Conſtitution of the Clergy, a Conſtitution "which ought only to regulate objects pure-

* The *Pope* had fully and with the utmoſt energy manifeſted his diſapprobation of the civil conſtitution of the Clergy in a Brief addreſſed to the King on the 10th of July 1790, and in two other Briefs of the ſame date, the one addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, the other to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, who were both Miniſters of State at that time. The former of theſe Prelates anſwered his Holineſs on the 28th of the ſame month, and the latter on the 8th of Auguſt following. This correſpondence, however, was kept a profound ſecret by both, and not the leaſt notice given of it to any of the Deputies of the Clergy.

"ly

" ly political.—The Church is the organ of " the Son of God. Let it ſpeak, and every " one of us will liſten to its voice with re- " verence. Deign to permit us to aſſemble " a Council—Nothing can prove more for- " cibly how much we know the duties and " the virtues of our character, than our ſub- " mitting to every ſacrifice rather than act " againſt our conſcience.—We reſign our- " ſelves to the care of Providence."

The pure and faithful majority of the Deputies of the Clergy ſeeing that none of theſe remonſtrances were admitted, reſolved to take no part in the Decree about to be paſſed. This determination was declared by one of the Biſhops preſent, and the others roſe to ſhow their concurrence. The Decree propoſed by the reporter having obtained the priority of another, ſtill more rigorous, propoſed by *Mirabeau*, was put to the vote and adopted.

As a profuſion of crimes was neceſſary to the Revolution, the authors of it could not but be eager to throw off the bridle which religion might put upon them. Religion, in fact, was now the only obſtacle remaining for them to remove; for there no longer exiſted

iſted in France either Police, or Courts of Juſtice, or Government: and this fatal Decree, conſidered in the ſenſe of the Revolution, was but a Decree of courſe.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXIII.

New Insurrections—The Mayor of Vareze massacred—Report on the Organization of the Public Force—The Committees, to whom the Report of the Civil Commissioners upon the Troubles of Nancy had been referred, make their Report—Discussion of it—Attempt to criminate M. de Bouillé—Nervous Speech by M. de Cazalès—The Assembly annul the Proceedings commenced in that Affair—Momentary Success obtained by the Royalists in the Parterre at the Opera—Revenge of the Jacobins—Advantage which their Organization in Clubs gave them over the Royalists—Assassination of Pinet, the Broker, on his Return from Rinci, where he had been to receive

ceive from the Duke of Orleans a Portfolio which he had depoſited in his Hands, and which was ſaid to contain more than Forty Millions—The Portfolio ſtolen—Violent Suſpicions againſt the Duke of Orleans.

WHILE the popular outrages remained ſolely directed againſt thoſe citizens whom the Revolution had marked out as its victims, by deſcribing them under the fatal denomination of *Ariſtocrats*, the Aſſembly thought it enough to declare that they were *juſtly offended*, or *deeply afflicted* by them, and to charge the Executive Power *to employ all the means placed in his hands by the Conſtitution for the re-eſtabliſhment of order*. But as that Conſtitution, in delegating to the King the ſupreme Executive Power, had not yet placed at his diſpoſal other means of execution than that of giving to the Conſtituted Authorities *orders* which his Majeſty could not compel them to execute, it was impoſſible that theſe references to the Executive Power could produce more effect than the ſterile affliction of the Aſſembly, or its pretended indignation. The conſequence was, that inſurrections multiplied

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in almoſt all the departments, not only againſt the Ariſtocrats, but alſo to ſtop the circulation of grain, and often to hinder the collection of the unſuppreſſed ſeigneurial rights, and even the taxes. It appeared too, that the Conſtituted Authorities newly eſtabliſhed were not reſpected; that the Commandant of the National Guard of St. Jean D'Angely, author of the troubles which had agitated that city, being ſummoned by the Directory of the Department of Lower Charante, had refuſed to obey, by the advice of the Mayor. At Vareze, a little town near St. Jean D'Angely, the Commiſſioners of the diſtrict, accompanied by a detachment of the troops of the line, having arreſted one of the principal inſtigators of the inſurrection, called *La Planche*, the people rang the alarm-bell, armed themſelves with pikes, muſkets, and clubs, loudly demanding that *La Planche* ſhould be delivered up to them, and aſſailed the Commiſſioners, who, in order to eſcape their fury, were obliged to command the ſoldiers to fire upon this mob, and ſeven perſons were killed upon the ſpot. This act of firmneſs only enraged theſe madmen the more. They arreſted and confined the Mayor of Vareze, and poſted

towards

towards St. Jean D'Angely, calling out, *Vengeance! No Directory! No Diſtrict!* and threatening they would come the following day with 10,000 men to beſiege St. Jean D'Angely, if *La Planche* were not releaſed. The Municipality not having taken any meaſure to oppoſe this inſurrection, notwithſtanding the order which they had received from the diſtrict, they were compelled to deliver up *La Planche* to theſe ruffians, but nevertheleſs conditionally that the Mayor of Vareze ſhould be ſet at liberty, which they engaged to do and retired, carrying back in triumph *La Planche* crowned with laurels. On their return the firſt thing they did was to ſet the Mayor at liberty, according to their promiſe; but it was only to maſſacre him, in ſpite of the efforts and generous ardour of a clergyman of the neighbourhood, who threw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſaſſins, tore from their hands the venerable magiſtrate *(M. la Tierce)*, and carried him on his back to the neareſt houſe, parrying or receiving himſelf the blows levelled at him. This heroic action retarded but a few moments the death of the Mayor, who was one of the moſt worthy men of the Canton. His executioners finiſhed by cutting his throat in the

the very houſe in which his deliverers, overcome with blows and fatigue, had placed him.

The recital of all theſe horrors, of all theſe *unconſtitutional* inſurrections, made the Aſſembly perceive that it was high time for them to attend a little to the organization of the public force. The Committee of the Conſtitution charged with this taſk threw all the obſcurity on the ſubject that might be expected from the profound metaphyſicians of whom that body conſiſted, and fell into all the blunders that might naturally be committed by people who did not know even the firſt principles of it, ſuch as the Abbé *Sieyes*, *Rabaut de St. Etienne*, &c. &c.

Before the different plans of Decrees for regulating the organization of the public force were preſented, the reporter *(Rabaud)* propoſed a ſeries of conſtitutional articles to ſerve as their preamble, and to *perpetuate, without alteration, the intention of the Legiſlature.* "Poſterity," ſaid he, "finding therein the principles in all their purity, will correct the errors which time may introduce."

The public force was hitherto underſtood to be that which the Government employed

in the interior, either for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity, or to ſecure the due execution of the laws, and the ſentences of the Courts of Juſtice. This was that tutelary force which the Aſſembly had palſied, which it was now neceſſary to organize, or rather only to renovate.

The Committee, ignorant of this definition, or perhaps thinking it too ſimple and grovelling, did not heſitate to propoſe to the Aſſembly to declare as conſtitutional principles, 1ſt, That the public force, conſidered in a general view, was the union of the force of all the citizens; 2dly, That the army was an habitual force collected from the public force, and particularly deſigned to act againſt enemies; 3dly, That the corps armed for the ſervice of the interior were an habitual force collected from the public force, and particularly deſigned to act againſt the diſturbers of order and the public peace; 4thly, That the citizens ſhould be obliged to take arms whenever the diſturbance of public order, or an attack upon the country, ſhould require the uſe of the public force, or when public liberty ſhould be in danger; 5thly, That the citizens who would not engage to aſſiſt in re-eſtabliſhing order in the interior, when

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they ſhould be legally called upon, and to arm for the defence of liberty and their country, ſhould not enjoy the rights of an active citizen; 6thly, That the armed force was eſſentially obedient, &c. &c. &c.

This public force was evidently the general force of the State, compoſed of all citizens capable of bearing arms; even the brigands were not excepted from it: all were to arm, not only when they ſhould be called upon, but even without it *when the public liberty was threatened*, and every one was individually a judge of that danger, which the preliminary articles did not define, and which they mentioned in ſuch vague terms, that there was no inſurrection but might find a conſtitutional excuſe in it.

M. de Montlauſier ſeveral times, in a very ſpirited manner, oppoſed theſe different articles. He maintained that they tended to organize a body without furniſhing it with a ſoul; that under the Monarchical Government the King, who was not even mentioned in theſe articles, was neceſſarily the *Chief*, the eſſential and only principle of the life of the public force, &c. &c.

Others obſerved that the military enrolment, which the Aſſembly had already

condemned, would be the poſitive reſult of the 4th and 5th clauſes, and that they would reduce to a vain phantom that liberty ſo dear, and ſo eagerly purſued. Theſe objections, and the amendments propoſed in conſequence, were rejected: the metaphyſics of the Committee triumphed over common ſenſe, and the pretended conſtitutional principles propoſed by the reporter were adopted by a great majority. But as I have already obſerved, this was but the preamble of an immenſe code required for the organization of all the parts of the public force, ſuch as the Committee had defined it; and *Rabaut* announced that the number of objects he had to preſent, and the natural order of the Decrees to be paſſed, would compel him to make frequent intervals in the ſtatement of his report. In fact, he did not reſume it till the 22d of December, when he brought forward a Decree, that the Marechauſſée ſhould in future bear the name of the *Gendarmerie Nationale*, and perform their duty as ſhould be regulated by the Adminiſtrations, and Directories of the Departments; that it ſhould be compoſed of old ſoldiers of eight years ſtanding, and appointed by the Directories of Departments, one out of five to be preſented for each va-

cancy by the Colonel. To the King was only left the office of cauſing the commiſſions or warrants to be delivered to thoſe who ſhould be thus named to the ſituations of Brigadiers, Quarter-Maſters, Lieutenants, Captains, and Lieutenant-Colonels; and the privilege of appointing the Colonels, formerly called *Prévôts*, obſerving to grant thoſe commiſſions according to ſeniority. His Majeſty was alſo authoriſed to commiſſion one of the General Officers, employed in the departments, merely to inſpect the behaviour, diſcipline, and ſervice of the diviſions of the *Gendarmerie Nationale*; but not to give, or cauſe to be given to that troop, any orders by the Miniſters, or by any other agent of the Executive Power.

This plan of organization of the public force was not more inſufficient to prevent inſurrections than the diſpoſition manifeſted by the Aſſembly upon another important affair, ſubmitted at the ſame time to their deliberation, was adapted to encourage the diſturbers of the public order. The ſucceſs of the Marquis *de Bouillé* at Nancy was not at all ſuited to the ſpirit of the Revolution. The patriots could not pardon him for the terrible leſſon which he had given them; and their

clamours, ſupported by all the clubs and Jacobins of the kingdom, had determined the Aſſembly to ſend Civil Commiſſioners to the ſpot to make ſtrict inquiry into the cauſes of that inſurrection, which had been the grounds of a criminal proſecution commenced in the *Bailiwick* of Nancy. They were alſo charged to obtain an exact account of the conduct of the ſoldiers, officers, and generals, and to draw up a report, which ſhould be tranſmitted to the Aſſembly. The Commiſſioners named by the King were *Duverrier*, and *Cahier de Gerville*, who was afterwards a Miniſter: they had both been admitted into the new Municipality of Paris, and conſequently their patriotiſm and attachment to the Revolution could not be doubted. The account which they gave of their miſſion was referred to the Military Committee, and the Committees of Inquiry and of Reports united; and one of the moſt flaming patriots among the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the worthy and faithful friend of the Duke of *Orleans*, in a word, *M. de Sillery*, was charged with the report of this weighty affair, and he made it on the 6th of December in the Evening Sitting. He firſt announced that the public opinion was ſtill wavering concerning

concerning the cauſes of the fatal event which had taken place at Nancy. This opening very much aſtoniſhed all thoſe who recollected the very circumſtantial details contained in reſpect to this matter in the official diſpatches which the Miniſter at War had laid before the Aſſembly, and particularly thoſe of *M. de Bouillé*, which had been publiſhed in all the Journals. "In theſe "unhappy times of diviſions and civil diſ-"cords," ſaid the reporter, "each party "charge their opponents with the diſaſters "which happen.—It is in the midſt of this "political obſcurity that your Committees "have thought it their duty to endeavour to "diſcover the principal cauſes of that event; "it is this national crime that is to be un-"veiled.—Many errors have been commit-"ted; great misfortunes have been the con-"ſequence of them; and there is no claſs of "citizens whom we may not in ſome de-"gree reproach.—Let the two parties who "now divide France caſt their eyes upon the "grand deſtiny which awaits this empire if "they unite, and let them ſhudder at the "fatal conſequences of our diſcords. Blood "has already been ſhed, the Nation is irri-"tated; citizens, reflect that at the point at

" which we are arrived, no power, no
" means can derange the immutable order
" which the Nation itſelf has eſtabliſhed;
" that it would be madneſs in the party
" which oppoſes the general will to hope to
" reload with chains the brave nation which
" has juſt ſhaken them off, and that at this
" epocha it is neceſſary to conquer us or
" to obey."

My intention being only to give an exact idea of the ſpirit with which this report was made, I ſhall confine myſelf to an accurate ſtatement of ſome of its leading points, omitting the patriotic lamentations, and irrelevant common places with which it is loaded, as well as the facts which I have related according to dates.

" The major part of the inhabitants of
" Nancy," ſaid *M. de Sillery*, " being ne-
" ceſſarily loſers by the Revolution, highly
" diſapproved of it.—Some diſtinguiſhed
" citizens, regarding only the happineſs of
" the Nation, adopted your Decrees with
" rapture, becauſe they were favourable to
" that unhappy claſs of citizens ſo long in-
" jured. Theſe joined with them, and the
" city was thus divided into two parties,
" holding opinions completely oppoſite.—

" It

"It is to this war of opinions that all the "misfortunes of that town ought to be im- "puted.—The numerous garriſon of Nancy "could not remain indifferent. Some young "Officers manifeſted ſentiments repugnant "to the new Conſtitution. The elder ones, "more prudent and more reſerved, concealed "their opinions, but all became equally "ſuſpected by their ſoldiers.—In the times "of Revolution, every man ought to diſplay "his character—Every one ought to ſpeak "and act according to his conſcience; the "moſt dangerous character is that of the "man who exhibits none."

This accuſation, however ſlight, was the more miſplaced, as the reporter confeſſed that there were complaints only againſt five Officers of the King's Regiment; that theſe were charged on the depoſitions of two perſons, named *Bazire* and *Rouſſiere*, of whom the former had been brought to a trial, and was diſowned by all his corps, and the latter had been turned out of his regiment. It was highly neceſſary to exaggerate the faults of the Officers, and to invent ſome for them, the more eaſily to palliate the crimes of the ſoldiers, and to gloſs them with the epithet of ſimple errors.

"Theſe

" Theſe brave ſoldiers," continued the reporter, ſoftening his voice, " ſeeing that " in the preſent ſyſtem they began to be re- " garded as citizens, attempted to enjoy the " fruits of that liberty held forth to them. " They had been guilty of ſome breaches " of diſcipline, which, being ſuffered to " paſs unpuniſhed, led them by degrees to " open revolt. It is with grief we are forced " to confeſs that thoſe very ſoldiers, whoſe " patriotiſm we ſhould have cited as an ex- " ample, rendered themſelves culpable by " carrying it to exceſs. Theſe unfortunate " ſoldiers were not ignorant of the criminal " manœuvres of the enemies of the public " welfare; they frequently heard the ſame " language that has ſo often excited your " own diſpleaſure; they had ſworn to de- " fend the Conſtitution, they thought it in " danger, and falling from one error into " another, they precipitated themſelves into " the abyſs where they are at preſent. It is " an imperious duty incumbent upon us to " make them ſenſible of the whole extent " of their fault. Let them call to mind " the ſlavery from which we have extricated " them. Let them look to the days of glory " ſtill reſerved for them, if their conduct

" anſwer

" anſwer our expectations!—Unfortunate " comrades, my duty is to report your " crimes; but I muſt at the ſame time lay " before the National Aſſembly the offences " of thoſe whoſe duty it was to be your " guides and counſellors."

This accuſation was principally directed againſt the Adminiſtrative Bodies. The reporter ſeverely blamed their puſillanimity, he reproached them for all that they had done, and all that they had left undone, and eſpecially for not having made uſe of their influence over the troops to recall them to obedience; as if ſoldiers, who had ſhaken off the authority of their Officers, and even that of the National Aſſembly, could be preſumed more ready to attend to the counſels of the Municipal Body.

Among the number of crimes ſtated by the reporter againſt the Municipality of Nancy was that " of ſuffering the acknowledged " friends of the Conſtitution to be treated " as the abettors of the diſorders, and of " having unlawfully ordered the ſeizure of " their papers, and the diſſolution of their " Aſſembly. Theſe good citizens, whoſe " only crime was that of being good citi- " zens, found themſelves perſecuted and

" tried;

" tried; the blows were chiefly levelled at " their club, and their enemies even dared " to employ againſt them the antiquated " forms of deſpotiſm and arbitrary autho- " rity. The national cockade was pro- " ſcribed; the National Guard hid them- " ſelves. In a word, Nancy, at the arrival " of the King's Commiſſioners, was in that " degraded ſtate that might be ſuppoſed to " be its lot at the moment of a counter-re- " volution effected.

" The unhappy event at Nancy was only " the fatal reſult of paſſions and different " opinions inceſſantly oppoſed, inflamed, and " exaſperated by continual miſunderſtand- " ings, by exaggerated ſuſpicions, kept up " by the fear of thoſe who could have in- " ſtructed the people, and by the renewal " of ancient diſorders as difficult to foreſee " as to repreſs. We have had the ſad con- " viction that citizens may ſometimes err, " and become culpable, while they think " they are ſerving the *good cauſe.*"

It was thus, that inſtead of throwing a greater light on the well-known cauſes of the inſurrection at Nancy, the reporter laboured to envelop in darkneſs the criminal manœuvres which had produced it; manœuvres plotted

plotted in the Secret Committee of the Jacobin Club at Paris, and put in execution at the ſame time by their ſecret emiſſaries in the affiliated clubs in all the garriſon towns in the kingdom, for the purpoſe of completing at the ſame period the diſorganization of the whole army, and by that means to deprive the King of the reſource of employing ſuch regiments as might remain faithful to quell the inſubordination of the others.

The King, to whom I one day ſpoke on the ſubject in the preſence of *M. de Leſſart*, told us, that *M. de la Tour-du-Pin* and *M. de Bouillé* had received the moſt poſitive proofs of this fact; and *M. de Bouillé* has ſince aſſured me of it himſelf. This was the grand myſtery, or rather the abominable plot, the traces of which it was the buſineſs to conceal; and *M. de Sillery*, an ardent and faithful Jacobin, perhaps a member too of their ſecret committee, neglected nothing to attain that end. His report as to the facts was but a ſervile extract of that of the Commiſſioners ſent to Nancy, which was almoſt entirely founded upon heariſays, vague ſuſpicions and probabilities, and contained many more conjectures than poſitive aſſertions.

"Your

"Your Committees think," ſaid *M. de Sillery* as he concluded, "that the blood "which has already been ſhed may ſerve as "an atonement for the faults into which "the different parties have fallen."

According to this opinion he moved, that the Aſſembly, conſidering that the unfortunate event which happened at Nancy was only the fatal conſequence of errors into which the citizens of all claſſes had been drawn by the difference of their opinions, and being willing to bury in oblivion the very remembrance of ſo diſaſtrous a circumſtance, ſhould decree that the affair ſhould be purſued no farther, and that the proceedings commenced in the *Bailiwick* of Nancy ſhould be dropped; that in conſequence the ſoldiers and citizens ſentenced and impriſoned by reaſon of the ſaid proceedings ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the King's regiment and that of *Meſtre-de-Camp* ſhould be diſbanded; that each ſoldier ſhould receive three months pay, and an abſolute diſcharge; that the Military Committee ſhould report as ſoon as poſſible the means of replacing in the ſervice ſuch of the officers, ſubalterns, and ſoldiers, as by their conduct and ſervices, might be judged worthy of being replaced; that

that the King ſhould be entreated to negotiate immediately with the Swiſs Cantons for the pardon of the 41 ſoldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux condemned to the galleys, and of the 71 ſent to be tried in the Courts of the Helvetic Cantons, &c.

This report, in which not a ſingle eulogium was given to the ſignal ſervice rendered by *M. de Bouillé*, and in which his name was hardly mentioned, concluded the Sitting, and obtained the greateſt applauſe.

On the day following, in the Evening Sitting, the debate upon this report was opened. The Duke *du Chatelet* ſpoke firſt, and teſtified the livelieſt affliction for the faults of the King's regiment, which he had commanded for twenty years, and in which he had always ſeen the moſt perfect union between the officers and ſoldiers. "How," ſaid he, "could the ſpirit of mutiny be introduced "into it? The cauſes of it muſt not be "ſought in particular circumſtances at the "town of Nancy, nor in the immenſe de-"tail of facts which have been laid before "you. It is found in the very confeſſion of "the moſt guilty of the ſoldiers; they allow "that they were well treated by their offi-"cers, but ſay that they wanted to try a li-

"berty,

" berty, the juſt bounds of which they had
" been made to miſtake by perfidious inſi-
" nuations." He maintained that the conduct of the officers was blameleſs, and concluded with moving that the King ſhould be entreated to aſſemble a Court-martial to try this matter according to the conſtitutional forms, appealing to the ſupreme head of the army reſpecting the fate of the three regiments in garriſon at Nancy.

The Abbé *Gregoire* ſeverely cenſured the laſt ſpeaker for the eulogiums which he had laviſhed on the officers, and for not having remarked in the conduct of *M. de Bouillé* a precipitation which had cauſed the blood of his fellow-citizens to be ſhed. The conduct of the ſoldiers was as innocent, in the eyes of this Abbé, as that of the officers appeared to him reprehenſible. " How could theſe
" brave ſoldiers," ſaid he, " but revolt, when
" their Swiſs comrades were made to run
" the gauntlet, for having aſked for their
" arrears; when *M. de Malſeigne* ſpoke to
" the ſoldiers with the moſt brutal barba-
" rity?—What could they think of it?—
" There was talk of a counter-revolution—
" The pure patriotiſm of a reſpectable ſo-
" ciety had been denounced—*M. de Bouillé*,
" who

" who was known to have been tardy in " taking his civic oath, *M. de Bouillé* com- " manded !"—The Galleries applauded with tranſport the blame thrown on *M. de Bouillé*. This was repeated with the ſame ſucceſs by *Louis de Noailles*. " We ſhould perhaps," ſaid he, " condemn *M. de Bouillé* for ſuffer- " ing the advanced guard of his column to " approach too near the poſt which guarded " the entrance into the city.—*M. de Mal-* " *ſeigne* appears to me highly reprehenſible " for the extreme ſeverity of his ſpeech to " the ſoldiers, and for his departure from " Nancy.—I alſo think that *M. de la* " *Fayette* paſſed the bounds of his autho- " rity, when he invited the National Guards " of the Departments of the Meurthe and " of the Moſelle to obey your Decrees."

This laſt accuſation, and the lively applauſes which followed, was a ſtrong proof that the popularity of *M. de la Fayette* was already on the decline. This firſt General of the Revolution was no longer the hero of the day.

M. de Cazalès ſpoke next, and with the ſtrongeſt force of reaſoning refuted the opinion of the reporter and his partiſans. " It " muſt appear," ſaid he, " from the whole of

" the facts laid before you, in the eyes of
" all men whoſe reaſon is not entirely biaſſed
" by the ſpirit of party, that the ſole crime
" of the Municipality of Nancy was their
" being feeble and timid; that the conduct
" of the Officers was irreproachable; that no-
" thing could excuſe the crimes of the ſol-
" diers, nor of thoſe horrid men who have
" excited, perhaps paid for an inſurrection,
" which, but for the heroic firmneſs of *M.*
" *de Bouillé*"——At theſe words the moſt violent murmurs and cries from the Galleries interrupted the ſpeaker, but could not intimidate him.—" An inſurrection," continued he, in a tone ſtill more elevated, " which,
" but for the heroic firmneſs of *M. de*
" *Bouillé*, would have been the commence-
" ment of a civil war, and would have co-
" vered this empire with murder and pil-
" lage.—The reporter cenſured *M. de Noue*
" for having called the conduct of the ſol-
" diers villainy! And what name, then, do
" ſoldiers deſerve who have aſſaſſinated their
" Officers, and plundered the regimental
" cheſt?—I own that I was ſcandalized at
" hearing the reporter endeavour to perſuade
" us that ſoldiers guilty of ſuch excuſes,
" ſoldiers who made the air echo with this

" bar-

" baſe cry, *Money! Money!* were miſled
" by patriotiſm! If this be patriotiſm, the
" very novel application of the word explains
" to me why in the liſt of patriots are to be
" found the names of all the uſurers, of all
" the ſtock-jobbers of Paris, of all thoſe
" leeches who, after having ſo long ſucked
" the blood of the people, now call them-
" ſelves their defenders; why, too, we find
" among them, and in the firſt rank, men
" who have ſacrificed the advantages which
" their birth and ſtation gave them in the
" world, to the charms of ſordid gain, and
" to the precarious profits of a vile employ-
" ment.

" It is propoſed to you to annul the pro-
" ceedings commenced by the *Bailiwick* of
" Nancy, in virtue of a Decree of the Aſ-
" ſembly ſanctioned by the King. Strange
" contradiction!—To refuſe to inſtitute a
" proſecution for a public crime is a denial
" of juſtice, but to annul it is an act of deſ-
" potiſm.—All the citizens of Nancy, the
" innocent ſoldiers in the guilty regiments,
" each or all of the individuals implicated by
" a vague accuſation, have a right to ſay to
" us: 'I demand that the Aſſembly cauſe juſ-
' tice to be done me, that they grant me a trial.'

" If any one amongſt them ſhould addreſs
" you in this language, would his honour-
" able demand be rejected? Could it be re-
" jected? Then I myſelf make the demand
" in the name of the Officers, of the ſol-
" diers, and of the citizens of Nancy.

" And at what a time is it propoſed to
" you to deſtroy the traces of theſe crimes?
" —At a moment when the anxious Nation
" waits the opportunity of diſcovering the
" true authors of them. This opportunity is
" found; thoſe only are execrable men who
" have counſelled, fomented, and excited the
" crimes committed at Nancy. Let the
" whole nation know and judge of them by
" the emiſſaries they employed. The ſtrong-
" eſt light ſhould be thrown upon this work
" of darkneſs and iniquity. Let me be per-
" mitted to bring to the recollection of the
" Bretons who ſit in this Aſſembly, their
" juſt indignation when the late King cauſed
" the proceedings commenced againſt the
" Duke *D'Aiguillon* to be ſtruck out of the
" regiſters of the Parliament of Paris.—
" There was not a good citizen who was
" not deeply afflicted to ſee the virtuous *La*
" *Chalotais* remain under the ſtur of a falſe
" accuſation, while the guilty *D'Aiguillon*

" enjoyed

enjoyed his extortions in peace. The act " of authority this day propoſed to us is not " leſs odious.—Let the proceedings then be " finiſhed, and confine yourſelves to the ſuſ- " pending of the execution of the judgment. " Then will I aſcend this tribune to entreat " the Aſſembly to carry to the foot of the " Throne, which alone has a right to par- " don"—New murmurs, as tumultuous and violent as the former, prevented the ſpeaker from finiſhing the ſentence. Nothing indeed could be leſs in the ſpirit of the Revolution than to lay the Aſſembly at the King's feet, nor leſs conſtitutional than to advance that his Majeſty alone had the right to pardon. *M. de Cazalès* continued notwithſtanding: " I " will entreat the Aſſembly to aſk the King's " mercy for almoſt all the criminals; I ſay " almoſt all, for perhaps you will find it " difficult to pardon thoſe who filled the city " of Nancy with adventurers and vaga- " bonds; to pardon wicked men who raiſed " the citizens againſt one another; to par- " don the aſſaſſins of the hero of Nancy, the " young *Deſilles*, whoſe immortal action " honours both the age and the *Order* to " which he belonged."

It would be difficult to give a juſt idea of

the tumult and clamours which aroſe from the *Coté-Gauche* at the bare mention of the word *Order*, and which continued notwithſtanding the obſervation made by *M. de Cazalès*, that the exiſtence of the Order of Nobility at the time when *M. Deſilles* was born could not be denied. He was firſt attacked by *Barnave*, not only for that word, but for what he had ſaid concerning the Duke *D'Aiguillon*. He accuſed him of wiſhing to rend the heart of one of his colleagues, whoſe only fault was his differing with him in principles. He reproached him for ſuch malignity, ſuch refinement of cruelty, and concluded with moving, that he ſhould be called to order, and that it ſhould be inſerted on the Journals that it was *for rudeneſs to his colleague, and for want of reſpect to the Aſſembly*.

The Duke *D'Aiguillon*, whoſe filial piety appeared a little tardy, juſtified himſelf for not being the firſt to riſe and ſolicit juſtice for the abuſe and notorious calumnies uttered againſt the memory of his father. But he had conſidered, he ſaid, how little influence *M. de Cazalès* and his principles had over the Aſſembly and the Nation. The Duke *D'Aiguillon* thought the applauſes beſtowed on

this expreſſion ſufficient revenge for himſelf and his father's memory; and accordingly deſired that in regard to what related to himſelf perſonally *M. de Cazalès* might not be called to order. *Alexander de Lameth* took a wider view of the faults, or rather crimes of *M. de Cazalès:* he accuſed him of ſetting himſelf up as the chief of a party; of endeavouring to revive diſtinctions, which the Aſſembly had deſtroyed; of attributing to an order, to a particular caſt, virtues that belonged to all the citizens; of attempting to raiſe a doubt whether an opinion friendly to the Revolution reigned in the Aſſembly; and above all, of having dared to utter the blaſphemy of—*the time will come when the Nation will judge between you and us;* as if the Nation had not already manifeſted its wiſhes. "I urge all the Members of this "Aſſembly not to conſider lightly the deter-"mination we are about to take, as it is "important to the tranquillity of the king-"dom, and the completion of the Revolu-"tion, that all the world ſhould know how "much you diſapprove the opinion of *M.* "*de Cazalès.*• I move that he be called to "order." This motion was carried by a great majority, and the reaſon for the call to

order was entered in theſe terms: "*for want of reſpect to the conſtitutional laws of the State.*" It was therefore ſolely founded upon the expreſſion by which *M. de Cazalès* had aſſerted that *M. Deſilles* was an honour to the order in which he was born.

The Decree propoſed by *M. de Sillery* relative to the affair of Nancy was afterwards put to the vote, article by article, and adopted with ſome amendments. The preamble and the article relative to the ſoldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux were ſuppreſſed, and the revocation of the approbation which the Aſſembly had given to the former Municipality of Nancy, and to the Directory of the Department of La Meurthe, was added.

The circumſtantial details into which I have entered concerning this affair appeared to me neceſſary, to ſhew the degree of power and audacity which the Jacobin party had acquired ſince the month of September preceding. They did not content themſelves with denouncing as counter-revolutionary, proceedings which would have unveiled all their plots, but cauſed them to be annulled by the ſame Aſſembly who, three months before, had unanimouſly ordered them; and made thoſe very members retract the eulogiums they

had voted by acclamation to the Directory of the department of la Meurthe, and to the Municipality of Nancy. They had unanimouſly approved the conduct of *M. de Bouillé*, but the ſpeakers of the *Coté-Gauche* now cenſured it, and were loudly applauded: nor were they leſs applauded when they caſt the ſtrange reproach upon *M. la Fayette*, of having invited the National Guard to obey the Decrees. But perhaps a ſtill ſtronger proof of the ſervile and ſtupid docility of the majority of the Aſſembly in reſpect to the ruling Faction, is that which reſults from this call to order of *M. de Cazalès*, who was declared refractory againſt the conſtitutional laws of the State, for having ſaid that the heroiſm of the young *Deſilles* was an honour to the order in which he was born.

So much power in ſuch ſuſpicious hands could not but alarm all honeſt men, and particularly the Royaliſts. The young men of this laſt deſcription, or rather the moſt inconſiderate of them, finding themſelves a majority in the parterre of the Opera two days after the Decree which had terminated the affair of Nancy, giddily ſeized that opportunity of gaining a very inſignificant advantage over the Jacobins, of which they had

had not calculated the conſequences. The Opera performed on that day was *Iphigenie en Aulide.* Hardly was the chorus of *Chantons, célébrons notre Reine* finiſhed, when applauſes, *bravos*, and *encores* without number, called for a repetition of it. Several voices oppoſed it; *Encore, encore*, and *No, no*, repeated by each party with equal obſtinacy, ſuſpended the performance, when the actor *(Lainez)*, who played the part of *Achilles*, imprudently taking upon himſelf to decide the diſpute, ſaid: *Gentlemen, I think that every good Frenchman muſt love the King and Queen*, and began the chorus amidſt clapping, ſhoutings, and hiſſes. Scarcely was the chorus over, when a crown of laurel was thrown from the parterre to the actor. This kind of defiance rekindled the fury of the diſcontented, and ſoon nothing was to be heard in the Opera-Houſe but the moſt violent invectives and menaces. At laſt the voice of the actors, powerfully ſupported by the ſounds of the inſtruments, gained the aſcendant, and the hoarſeneſs of the parties permitted the performance to be finiſhed. On the Sunday following the Opera of *Jephtha* was performed, and as ſoon as *Lainez* made his appear-

ance,

the moſt bitter reproaches, accompanied by furious cries, roſe againſt him from all corners of the parterre, where the Jacobins had not failed to attend in great numbers. The actor quitted the ſtage, after having waited in vain for ſome minutes for the end of this tumult, of which he was the occaſion. Their fury then turned againſt the women and young men in the boxes. They inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner, and ſome voices even ordered them to get out of the houſe. *Lainez* again making his appearance, the vociferations and menaces were again levelled againſt him. He could not calm the ſtorm but by ſubmitting to the humiliation of aſking pardon of the public, declaring himſelf a good citizen, and breaking and treading under foot the fatal crown which he had received two days before. In going out many ladies were inſulted: ſhouts and threats accompanied to their carriages all thoſe who were ſuſpected to have taken any part in the *inivic* ſcene of the preceding Friday.

Thus the petty ſucceſs obtained for a moment by ſome of the Royaliſts, only ended in reducing an unfortunate finger to make a public and ignominious atonement for the great

great crime of having dared to believe and to say that every good Frenchman muſt love the King and Queen.

Although the Jacobins formed but a very ſmall minority of the nation, their organization into clubs throughout the kingdom, which gave them a facility of combining their plans, of concerting their meaſures, and of preparing under all circumſtances force and means adequate to their projects, ſecured them an immenſe advantage over the Royaliſts; who, though infinitely more numerous, were unconnected, without a rallying point, and always taken unawares. It was as eaſy to have a majority in the parterre of the Opera as in the galleries of the Hall of the Aſſembly, in thoſe of the Commune, of the Aſſemblies of the Sections, &c. It only required to have the will and the power of ſupplying the expences, and employing for that purpoſe intelligent and ſure agents. The Jacobins had the great advantage of being able to be their own agents; and an idea may be formed of the extent of their pecuniary means, when the immenſe fortune of the Duke of *Orleans*, increaſed it was ſaid by the portfolio of *Pinet*, the Broker, entirely diſappeared

ſerved in the four firſt years of the Revolution, although at that time his known expences did not amount to half his revenue.

With reſpect to the portfolio of *Pinet*, it was ſaid to contain more than forty millions, the greater part of which that ſtock-jobber had borrowed at an enormous intereſt, and which he turned to account in a manner unknown, but doubtleſs to advantage; for he was never in arrear with his creditors. The diſorder and troubles which broke out in Paris in the month of July 1789, having alarmed him, he placed his portfolio in the hands of the Duke *de Penthievre*, who had the goodneſs to take the charge of it. A ſhort time after, the Duke going into the country returned the portfolio to *Pinet*, who not being yet recovered from his fears, unhappily conſented to leave it with the Duke of *Orleans*, on that Prince offering him to lodge it ſafely at his ſeat at Rincy. When tranquillity appeared to be re-eſtabliſhed in the capital, *Pinet* having occaſion for his portfolio, the Duke of *Orleans* invited him to come to Rincy for it, and appointed the day when he himſelf would be there to return it. *Pinet* went on the day appointed in a public

a public carriage. The Duke of *Orleans* returned him his portfolio, and lent him one of his own carriages, with a poſtillion and ſervant in his livery, to take him back to Paris. He ſet off in the afternoon early enough to arrive in town long before ſun-ſet. In fact, he did arrive there, but robbed and mortally wounded. The Duke of *Orleans's* people, who came with him, appeared before a magiſtrate, and depoſed that this murder had been committed by robbers, whom they ſaid they had met. The ſurgeon who was called having examined *Pinet's* wounds, thinking, although they were mortal, that ſome life might remain in him, gave him every aſſiſtance. *Pinet* opened his eyes, repeated three or four times, *My portfolio! my portfolio!—The villains!*—and expired. This robbery, which deranged the fortunes of a very great number of perſons, was at that time imputed to the Duke of *Orleans*; but there were no proofs of it, and during two years every poſſible means was tried in vain to procure them. At laſt, about the month of October or November 1791, ſome of the principal creditors diſcovered a Valet-de-Chambre whom the Duke of *Orleans* had diſcharged,

diſcharged, and who was in his ſervice at the time of the death of *Pinet*. They applied to him, and offered him great rewards if he would procure them the proofs they wanted. After negotiating with him a long while, they concluded a bargain with him, and obtained intelligence for which they paid enormouſly. But to make any uſe of them it was neceſſary he ſhould conſent to ſwear to the charge before a magiſtrate, to which he was extremely averſe, leſt, as he ſaid, the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould cauſe him to be aſſaſſinated or poiſoned. They hoped, however, by the means of money to determine him to do it. But this man diſappeared ſuddenly, and left no trace of his flight. The creditors preſumed that he had ſold his ſilence to the Duke of *Orleans*, who had, no doubt, inſiſted on his quitting the kingdom. I was informed of theſe particulars about the beginning of March 1792, by one of the creditors, who came to aſk me if, as Miniſter of the Marine, I could not procure them the means of purſuing and arreſting this Valet-de-Chambre in England. I told him that all I could do was to charge the French Conſul in London to inquire if the man had arrived there; but

but firſt it was neceſſary that he ſhould give me the name of the man, an exact deſcription of his perſon, and the preciſe date of his diſappearing. I quitted the Miniſtry a few days after, without having again ſeen the creditor, and I heard no more of this affair.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Violent Troubles excited at Aix by the Clubs—Cowardice of the Conſtituted Authorities—Paſcalis, the Advocate, and two other Perſons, hanged by the People—Weakneſs of the Meaſures adopted by the Aſſembly—The Committee of Inquiry denounce a pretended Conſpiracy of Royaliſts formed at Lyons—Severity of the Aſſembly—Debates concerning the Proviſion for the Princes—Character of the Advocate Camus—The Aſſembly charge the Preſident to wait on the King, to be informed of the Motives which had retarded the Sanction of the Decree relative to the Oath of the Eccleſiaſtical Public Functionaries—The King's Anſwer—The Aſſembly

not ſatisfied with it, again depute their Preſident to demand a definitive Anſwer—The Abbé Maury attempting to oppoſe it, Camus, by a Chicane of Form, prevents him from entering on the Diſcuſſion—The Aſſembly decree that the Preſident ſhould demand from the King an Anſwer ſigned—Camus ſubſtitutes in his Motion the Word Acceptation inſtead of the Word Sanction—His Majeſty's Anſwer—M. Lambert, the Miniſter of the Finances, retires—M. de Leſſart, Miniſter of the Home Department, fills both thoſe Offices.

ON the day that the Jacobin Club of Paris, triumphing in the Parterre at the Opera, contented themſelves with compelling the imprudent actor to make an atonement on the ſtage for ſaying, *that he thought that every good Frenchman muſt love the King and Queen*, the Jacobin Club at Aix were alſo diſplaying their power againſt the Royaliſts, but in a much more ſanguinary manner. A report had been ſpread for ſeveral days that ſome ſmall private parties, compoſed of perſons pointed out to the people under the *de-*

nomination of malecontents and enemies of the Revolution, had formed a plan of uniting in one ſociety under the title of *The Club of the Friends of the King and Clergy*. It was aſſerted on the 10th of December that this Club were to wear the white cockade on Sunday the 12th of the ſame month; that it was not yet, however, in exiſtence; that thoſe who propoſed to eſtabliſh it *were endeavouring to get ſubſcribers, and ſpared no means of corruption to ſucceed in the augmentation of their number* *.

Be that as it may, the Jacobins alarmed at the dangers announced in the very title which this rival ſociety propoſed to aſſume, united on the 12th of December with another Revolutionary Club eſtabliſhed at Aix under the name of the Anti-political Club, and ſwore a-new to maintain the faith due to their civic oath. This alliance being thus formed, a numerous detachment compoſed of the members of both clubs went and ſtood before a coffee-houſe, where ſeveral Officers of the

* See the letter from the Preſident of the Department *Des bouches du Rhône*, reported in the minutes of the Evening Sittings of the 18th of December 1790.

regiment de Lyonnais were aſſembled, and in company with ſome perſons pointed out as members of the future club of the King's friends. The patriots ſignaliſed their arrival at the coffee-houſe by hootings addreſſed to thoſe gentlemen, who were at firſt content to anſwer them in the ſame manner. But inſults and menaces ſoon ſucceeding to the hootings, three or four young Officers being exaſperated, fell ſword in hand on the deputation, put them to the rout, and ſlightly wounded ſeveral patriots. Theſe, as they fled, fired ſeveral piſtols, by which however no perſon was wounded.

All the Conſtituted Authorities immediately aſſembled at the *Hotel-de-Ville* to conſult on the meaſures proper to be taken on the occaſion. Some of the Municipal Officers going round the ſtreets to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh order, arreſted four Officers of the *regiment de Lyonnai*, and ſent them to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. The Adminiſtrators of the Department there aſſembled were informed that other young Officers had gone to their quarters, turned out the regiment under arms, and propoſed to them to go and deliver by open force their comrades, who had been arreſted; and alſo

that the patriots armed were coming in great numbers to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to demand juſtice. The regiment had refuſed to march unleſs required by the Adminiſtrators; ſo that it only remained to make the patriots return peaceably home, by aſſuring them that they ſhould have juſtice. But how could that be done without inflicting puniſhment on themſelves, who were in reality the aggreſſors? Therefore as nothing was deemed leſs patriotic than to take umbrage againſt the patriots how guilty ſoever they might be, the Adminiſtrators acted exactly contrary to what they ought to have done: they immediately ſent away the *regiment de Lyonnais*, who did not heſitate to obey, and in their place received 400 men belonging to the Swiſs regiment of Erneſt, and 400 of the National Guards, who came from Marſeilles. The rage of the Jacobins was not yet ſatisfied. The cowardly condeſcenſion of the Adminiſtrators was a triumph, but was not ſufficient revenge; blood was what they wanted, and the populace promiſed them they ſhould have it. Several perſons pointed out as ſuſpected of royaliſm were arreſted, and carried to priſon. In that number was the old advocate *Paſcalis*, a lawyer of the firſt

eminence, a man of great talents and virtues, and who poſſeſſed the general eſteem which he had merited by fifty years of honourable ſervices. His revolutionary crime was having on the 27th of September, at the bar of the Parliament, and at the head of the profeſſion of advocates, pronounced a very energetic proteſt againſt the Decree for ſuppreſſing that Court, and which was to be put in execution on the 30th of the ſame month. The Adminiſtrators were weak enough to confine this venerable old man, and the companions of his misfortune in priſon, under the guard of a detachment of the regiment of Erneſt and the National Guard. The day following, at eight in the morning, an immenſe multitude ſurrounded the priſon, crying loudly for the head of *Paſcalis*. Moſt of the Adminiſtrators and ſeveral Municipal Officers attended in their ſcarfs, and endeavoured to calm the people, as far as the fear with which they were themſelves ſeized would permit them. But the people ſeldom grow calm at the deſire of thoſe who fear them; they would neither hear nor utter any thing but the cries of death. The gates of the priſon were forced open in an inſtant. *Paſcalis* and two other perſons arreſted the day before

were

were dragged out, and hanged upon trees in the preſence of 400 men of the regiment of Erneſt, and 400 of the National Guard of Marſeilles, of the National Guard of Aix, and of all the Conſtituted Authorities, who appeared to have ſent away the regiment *de Lyonnais* only that this horrible crime might be committed without any obſtacle.

When this account was related to the Aſſembly, they were, according to their uſual mode, afflicted and provoked, but nevertheleſs contented themſelves to decree, upon the motion of their Committees of Inquiry and Reports, that the King ſhould be entreated to ſend into the Department of the Mouths of the Rhône a ſufficient number of the troops of the line to re-eſtabliſh the public tranquillity; and alſo to ſend thither three Civil Commiſſioners, charged jointly with three members choſen from the Adminiſtrative Body, to call in the public force. The Abbé *Maury* inſiſted in vain that there ſhould be prefixed to this Decree an energetic preamble againſt thoſe popular inſurrections, againſt thoſe crimes which diſhonoured the Nation. *Charles de Lameth* ſtrongly reſiſted this motion, and even thought that the Decree went too far. "The people are accuſed,"

ſaid he: "I defend them: I am far, however, "from excuſing them for committing crimes "even when provoked. But if we look at theſe "events in their proper point of view, we find "them to be affairs originating in ſelf-de- "fence, in which the people have always the "advantage.—They are provoked to violence "—Armed aſſemblies are held—Our coun- "trymen were irritated and haraſſed by the "Miniſters whom we have attacked; and this "is the people who are accuſed!—I call "upon the enemies of the people to put an "end to the mourning with which they "cover the country.—As to the plan for the "Decree, I do not ſee why we ſhould ſend "Commiſſioners: this is a uſeful meaſure, "of which we ſhould not be too prodigal. "The Adminiſtrators are not ſuſpected, the "good cauſe triumphs! I think there is no "occaſion for a Decree on this ſubject, and "I move, that the Preſident be charged to "write a letter of thanks to the grenadiers "of the *regiment de Lyonnais*, who have "ſet a great example of ſubmiſſion to the "laws."

The ſpeaker was interrupted by repeated applauſes at every ſentence of this ſpeech, which I have reported very accurately, to give

give an exact idea of the principles and nature of the talents of this tender friend of the people.

Immediately after the report of this affair, the Deputy *Voidel* aſcended the tribune, and announced the moſt important information of a counter-revolutionary conſpiracy about to break out at Lyons, which was plotted at Nice, Turin, and Antibes, and the ramifications of which extended into different parts of the kingdom. "The preparations making on our fron-"tiers, the journeys of *M. D'Autichamp*, "the ſecret arrival of a deceitful Miniſter at "Turin, the ſudden aſſembling of all the "conſpirators; all theſe movements," ſaid the reporter, "excited the vigilance of your "Committee. At length all is diſcovered."

But what was the extent of this great diſcovery, at which the whole Aſſembly was tranſported with joy? It had no other baſis than the bare declarations of four Lyonneſe informers, who pretended that they had purpoſely enrolled themſelves among the conſpirators, in order to be admitted into their ſecret.

The reſult of their declarations was, that three months before a Count *de Lyon*, who had a natural ſon named *Beaujour*, being told

told that *Monet*, one of the informers, was much in the confidence of the workmen, propoſed an interview with him by this ſon, who had ſpoken to him a great deal concerning the evils which the Revolution had brought on, of the annihilation of commerce, and ſo forth, and who had informed him that an energetic plan was about to be put in execution to ſtir up the people privately; adding, that doubtleſs this good people would never ſuffer the eſtates of the Clergy to be ſold, and eſpecially thoſe of the Counts *de Lyon*.—That after theſe overtures, *Beaujour* had carried *Monet* to two young Officers, named *Deſcarts* and *Terraſſe*, who introduced him to the Count, with whom he had had conſtant conferences during two months; that one day the Count came to his houſe, and ſaid to him, "The beſt means of gaining the people is to aſſemble as many perſons as poſſible together in public-houſes, and for this purpoſe to advance money to the landlords, that they may ſell their wine cheap; that *Monet* having obſerved to him that the landlords might entertain ſuſpicions, he allowed the obſervation to be juſt; but added: "Well, we muſt be content to men-"tion the Princes, and engage the people

"to

" to recall them, by announcing that when " they return they will ſcatter abundance of " money, and cauſe the duties of entry to " be diminiſhed; that the King will come " and reſide in the town; that he will find " a means of eſcaping from Paris; that he " will bring along with him the National " Aſſembly; and that the Conſtitution will " ſtill be forwarded."—*Monet* ſaid, that he had with theſe inſtructions given him ſeveral incendiary libels, of which he had a ſtore, and charged him to diſtribute them; that he had alſo diſcloſed to him his project of cauſing *M. Guillain* to be choſen Mayor, and the manœuvres he had put in practice for that purpoſe in the patriotic clubs, and to gain the preſidents and ſecretaries; that *M. M. Deſcartes* and *Terraſſe* had complained to him *(Monet)* that they were ill ſerved at the *Hotel-de-la-Commune*, although they paid well; that they often ſpoke to him of the confidence they repoſed in *M. de la Chapelle*, the Commandant of the place, whom they always called *Friend La Chapelle*.—" At laſt," added the informer, " *M. Ter-* " *raſſe* ſaid to me one day at his houſe: " *Well, to-morrow muſt be the day.*"—" No, next Sunday," replied I.—He regret-

ted

ted the delay, then ſaid, "The exploſion "muſt take place on Monday: I will intro- "duce you to the Count *D'Artois*; the "Princes will reward thoſe liberally who "ſerve them." "*M. Deſcartes* alſo," continued *Monet*, "expreſſed much uneaſineſs "at the delay which I propoſed.—When we "put off matters from one day to another," ſaid he, "we are obliged to give notice to a "great number of people."

Berthel, the ſecond informer, declared that he had had ſeveral conferences with *Guillain*; that on the 27th of November *Guillain* aſked him what his means were? *Berthel* anſwered him, that he knew about thirty porters who might be relied upon; that in all their conferences *Guillain* had converſed with him about raiſing the people, of perſuading them to demand a diminution of the duty upon bread and wine, and of promiſing him that if the Princes were invited to return, they would lower the exciſe duties of the town.

Charot, another informer, declared that *Terraſſe* had alſo ſpoken to him about ſtirring up the people, of recalling the Princes, and had told him that *M. de la Chaſtelle* would put himſelf at the head of the people; that

that the duties of entry ſhould be lowered on the day that the Princes arrived; that the King and the National Aſſembly were to come to Lyons, which would become the capital of the kingdom, and that Paris would be a deſert.

Jacob David, the fourth and laſt informer, declared that *Terraſſe* had talked to him in the ſame manner of raiſing the people, and of the return of the Princes; and that he had moreover ſaid to him: "The people will "aſſemble in arms in the ſquare before the "*Hotel-de-Ville* while a petition is pre-"ſented to the Municipality. The brave "*La Chapelle* and myſelf will put our-"ſelves at their head. We have three thou-"ſand men to go for the Princes. If three "thouſand men are not ſufficient, we have "five, and, if neceſſary, ſix thouſand: and "beſides, the inſurrection will break out on "the ſame day throughout France. As "many women as poſſible muſt be brought "to the ſquare, and without any fear of the "red flag: the troops will not fire upon the "people; we are ſure of them."

It further appeared from their depoſitions, that *Monet* had received fifty louis from the Count *de Lyon* at two different times; *Berthel*

thel two louis from *Guillain*, and *Chalot* four louis from *Terraſſe*. *Jacob David* was the only one to whom nothing had been given.

The Municipality, after having examined the perſons mentioned in theſe informations, cauſed *Deſcartes*, *Terraſſe*, and *Guillain* to be arreſted, and impriſoned at Pierre-en-Aiſe, and ſent an account of it to the Committee of Inquiry of the Aſſembly.

This account, of which I have made an accurate extract, was terminated by ſome patriotic phraſes, and by a plan for a Decree for removing the three priſoners to Paris, for requeſting the King to change the Commandant and garriſon of Lyons, and for enjoining every French Public Functionary receiving penſions, or any ſtipend whatever from the State, to return into the kingdom within a month, under pain of having their penſions or ſtipends ſuſpended.

To ſhew the inconſiſtency and barbarity of the Decree, it was ſufficient to compare it with that which had been adopted concerning the affair at Aix, and the Abbé *Maury* did not fail to make the application. "You "heard," ſaid he, "with horror at the be-"ginning of this Sitting, the recital of the "moſt

"moſt atrocious crimes, committed in the "preſence of many thouſand witneſſes in "contempt of all law, of your Conſtitu- "tion, and conſtituted authorities; never- "theleſs none of the guilty were arreſted. "You ordered no proſecution againſt them; "and now, upon bare ſuſpicions of a con- "ſpiracy, as ridiculous as abſurd, it is pro- "poſed to you to drag to the priſons of the "capital three perſons, againſt whom there "exiſts no other proof than unconnected "and clandeſtine informations privately re- "ceived by the Municipal Officers, inſtead "of being taken before competent judges, "and according to the form preſcribed by "the law. Three of your fellow-citizens "have been juſt hanged by the people for "being ſuſpected of inciviſm, of Royaliſm, "or of not approving the Revolution, and "no puniſhment has been inflicted for the "crime; yet, under theſe circumſtances, it "is propoſed to you to order the fugitives "to return to France. Is it not aſking them "to come, and allow themſelves to be aſſaſ- "ſinated? Can you, in fact, anſwer for "their lives? Which of you will dare to "inſure mine?"

The Abbé *Maury* then diſcuſſed the in-

informations

formations received by the Municipality. He proved that they were contradictory in ſome points, and in others falſified by the fact; that *M. de la Chapelle*, who was pointed out as the perſon who was to act the principal character in the conſpiracy, had been judged free from all blame by the Municipality themſelves, who had not arreſted him; that it evidently followed from all theſe impoſtures and contradictions, that if the informers were not great ſcoundrels, the accuſed muſt be the weakeſt of intriguers. He recalled to mind the recent buſineſs of the Count *de Lautrec*. The informers againſt him to the Municipality of Toulouſe were at leaſt worthy of as much credit as thoſe from whom the Municipality of Lyons had received theſe informations, and againſt one of whom a warrant had been iſſued from a Criminal Court; yet the Aſſembly had acknowledged the innocence of *M. de Lautrec*, and the impoſture of thoſe who had denounced him.—"Thoſe impoſtors," ſaid he as he concluded, "remained un-
"puniſhed; but that it may not be the
"caſe with thoſe of Lyons, I move that
"if the accuſed be arreſted, and brought
"to the priſons of the capital, their ac-
"cuſers

" cuſers be alſo brought hither. By this " amendment it is not my intention to con- " cur in the Decree propoſed to you; but " ſince we muſt yield to a majority, I ſay to " that majority, that the example of *M. de* " *Lautrec* ought to teach them that all who " are accuſed are not guilty, nor all who ac- " cuſe innocent."

M. de Cazalès inſiſted principally upon the queſtion of public right. " It is not," ſaid he, " an eaſy matter to decide with pre- " ciſion how far the public intereſt autho- " riſes the Legiſlative Body to invade private " liberty; for it is evident that public liberty " is compoſed of the liberty of individuals. " Society has doubtleſs a right to impoſe " upon every agent whom they pay, condi- " tions moſt adapted to the public good; " but every ſociety that has entirely changed " its conſtitution, has diſengaged every ci- " tizen from thoſe ties which bound him to " his country. In ſuch a caſe every man " has a right to ſay, I do not chooſe your " new conſtitution; give me my property, " and I will leave the country. A perſon is " only criminal when he violates the con- " ſtitution to which he has given his con- " ſent. Recall to mind the indignation ex-

" cited throughout France by the confiſca-
" tion of the property of the religious fugi-
" tives, who refuſed to ſubmit to the law
" which revoked the edict of Nantz.—The
" principle is this: every gift, ſalary, or
" penſion received from the Nation, carries
" with it the obligation of ſubmitting to
" thoſe terms which the Legiſlators think
" fit; but you cannot, without forgetting
" every principle of juſtice and liberty, re-
" trench what may have been given in pur-
" chaſe for any property whatever. It is
" certain, for example, that the proviſion
" made for the Princes of the Blood is not a
" ſalary from the Nation, but a compenſa-
" tion in lieu of their patrimony; for I can-
" not ſuppoſe it will be maintained that ori-
" ginally they poſſeſſed no property. The
" proviſion is only a compenſation for real
" property, and in which the bargain was
" by no means made in favour of the Princes.
" It ſhould be placed under the ſame laws as
" private property. Beſides, can any of you
" anſwer this queſtion: *Are the Princes*
" *ſafe in this kingdom?*"

Barnave obſerved that the propoſed Decree did not in any manner apply to the proviſion for the Princes, but only related to the ſuppreſſ-

ing

ing of the ſtipends or penſions of the fugitives, who did not return to France within the time fixed; and that according to the principles eſtabliſhed by *M. de Cazalès* himſelf, the meaſure was as juſt as it was neceſſary.

M. de la Fayette, ever in purſuit of the popularity that was flying from him, managed to obtain ſome applauſe by alſo maintaining that the propoſed Decree was neceſſary and very urgent, to put an end to the diſorder and alarms excited in the kingdom by the projects of the enemies of the Nation, although they were no better known than their political ſyſtems; "and although," added he, "there was nothing to fear for the li-" berty ſo gloriouſly acquired by the Na-" tion, and defended by three millions of " National Guards ready to face all its op-" ponents." He concluded with voting that the Decree propoſed by the Committee ſhould be adopted according to the amendment or explanation which *Barnave* had given to it; and the majority of the Aſſembly were of the ſame opinion *.

This

* To remove the doubts and ridicule which the Abbé *Maury* had caſt upon the pretended conſpiracy at Lyons, and upon the alarms of the Committee of Inquiry, *Voidel*

This explanation made by *Barnave* to *M. de Cazalès*, relative to the proviſion for the Princes, and innocently adopted by *M. de la Fayette*, was highly perfidious, or at leaſt ventured on very ſlight grounds. *Barnave*, in fact, was not ignorant that the grants for the

again rummaged among the papers of this Committee, and found two letters from the Adminiſtrators of the Department of the Var, which he read to the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 23d of December. They announced that a perſon who could be confided in had written from Nice: "that every thing was going on in a fair way; "that the young confederates were buying horſes, and "preparing to ſet off; that thoſe of Turin manifeſted "the ſame eagerneſs; that a blue and black bow, tied "to the button-hole of the waiſtcoat, was the new badge "of the confederation, and was, it was ſaid, the em- "blem of two high Powers, on whom they relied; that "it was to be feared that they had ſome views, and per- "haps hopes of Lyons; that it was certain that they had "correſpondents in that city; that ſome weeks before "one of the aſſociates from Lyons had come to Nice, "and held conferences with the party; and that the Ad- "miniſtrators of the Department of the Lower Alps "were afraid that the enemies of the Conſtitution ſhould "ſeize the town of Entreveaux, which was the key to "the Department, and whoſe fidelity was doubtful."

The reporter in conſequence propoſed, and it was decreed, that the King ſhould be entreated to ſend a ſufficient garriſon to guard the poſt of Entreveaux. He afterwards added, by way of obſervation in ſupport of his

firſt

the proviſion of the Princes had been annulled by a Decree of the 13th of Auguſt preceding; that the Princes were not to poſſeſs them beyond the 1ſt of January 1791, and that after that period each of them ſhould receive, as an indemnification or compenſation, an annuity of a million of livres, payable out of the National Treaſury, beſides an annual allowance, which the Aſſembly meant to take into conſideration. The opinion of *M. de Cazalès* was therefore not foreign to the queſtion, at leaſt as to the allowance to be made to the Princes who were to be provided for. This allowance was fixed at a million a year for each of them in the Sitting of the

firſt report concerning the affair of Lyons, that the Committee of Inquiry had been informed that a great number of the former gentlemen of Auvergne had rode to Lyons on the night of the 10th of December, each of them having a led horſe; that when they found the three leaders of the conſpiracy had been arreſted, they rode off, leaving behind them in the city 300 horſes without owners.

The truth of the fact is, that a very well-planned project of the Royaliſts was to have taken place at Lyons; but the indiſcretion of ſome agents, and the alarms the King had conceived on the occaſion, had cauſed it to be given up ſeveral days before the pitiful diſcoveries which had ſo much alarmed the Committee of Inquiry.

20th of December; that is to ſay, two days after the Decree, that every Frenchman receiving any penſion or allowance whatſoever from the State, who ſhould not be preſent and reſident in the kingdom, or who ſhould not take his civic oath within a month, ſhould forfeit his penſion or allowance. It is more than probable that the principal object of this Decree was to deprive the emigrant Princes of the million which was to be granted them. Little doubt could remain on this head, when in the debate upon the amount of their allowance theſe remarkable words, forced by the power of truth for the firſt time from the brutal diſpoſition of the Deputy *Camus* were heard: "Is *M. D'Ar-* "*tois* a man to take an oath in order to have "a little more or leſs?"

Brutality was the leaſt fault of this old advocate. He was more remarked in the Aſſembly by that black ingratitude, puſhed even to madneſs, which he conſtantly manifeſted in regard to the Clergy, from whom he had derived all his ſupport, and againſt whom he had always ſome new motion to ſnuffle*.

However

* *Naſilloner.*—This expreſſion, trifling as it may appear, will not be cenſured by thoſe who have heard this ſpeaker,

However extravagant or atrocious theſe were, they were almoſt always adopted, becauſe he generally had the precaution to propoſe them only when he was ſure of a majority. It was in this manner that on the 23d of December, at the opening of the Sitting, that is to ſay before the Aſſembly was full, and while the principal Members of the *Coté-Droit* were abſent, it was, on a motion of *Camus's*, unanimouſly decreed without a debate, and with great applauſes from the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries, that the Preſident ſhould go to the King in the courſe of the morning to enquire the reaſons for delaying the *ſanction* to the Decree of the 25th of November, enjoining all the Eccleſiaſtical Public Functionaries to take the oath to the civil conſtitution of the Clergy, and to entreat his Majeſty to *ſanction* the Decree without delay.

Theſe two reſolutions were evidently contrary to the nature of the right of the ſanction, which they reduced to no more than a forced

ſpeaker. He had ſo diſagreeable a manner of ſpeaking through his noſe, that it would have been enough to have given a diſguſt to eloquence, even if he had poſſeſſed that of the Abbé *Maury*, from which aſſuredly he was at an immenſe diſtance.

act of obedience, which the King could not even delay without aſſigning his motives.

The ſame day, in the Evening Sitting, the Preſident reported the King's anſwer, which he had received in writing, in the following terms:

" When I received the Decree concerning " the civil conſtitution of the Clergy, I " cauſed it to be announced in the National " Aſſembly that I would take proper mea- " ſures to inſure the full and entire execution " of it. I have been conſtantly occupied " with the ſubject ever ſince. The Decree " of the 27th of November being but a " conſequence of that of July, no doubt can " remain concerning my intentions; but it " appeared to me to deſerve the greateſt at- " tention in its execution. My reſpect for " Religion, and the duty incumbent upon me " to eſtabliſh the Conſtitution without agi- " tation, and without commotion, have " made me uſe redoubled activity in my " meaſures. I look every moment for its " effects, and I hope that the National As- " ſembly will rely upon me with the greater " confidence, as by the Decrees I am charged " with the execution of the laws, and as in " taking

" taking the gentleſt and ſureſt means to
" avoid whatever might diſturb the public
" tranquillity, I think I ſhall conſolidate the
" foundations of the Conſtitution of the
" kingdom. I again demand from the As-
" ſembly the confidence I merit from them."

If the Aſſembly had been truly animated with the love of good, if the moſt furious among the Factious, and their ſtupid or miſled adherents, had not had the majority, how muſt they have been delighted with an anſwer ſo replete with candour, wiſdom, and virtue.

Camus was the firſt to attack it. " The
" repeated teſtimonies of attachment to the
" Conſtitution in the King's anſwer," ſaid he, " will ever be grateful to us; but he
" cannot refuſe his acceptance to the conſti-
" tutional Decrees. With reſpect to thoſe
" which are ſimply matters of regulation,
" they ſhould be either ſanctioned or refuſed
" by him within a week, and if he refuſes
" to ſanction them he ought to ſtate his mo-
" tives. A longer delay would endanger
" the tranquillity of the kingdom. Pru-
" dence has for a time prevailed upon you
" to ſhut your eyes, but there has been too
" much

"much delay. Call to mind the Sittings "of the 20th and 23d of June, when you "dealt the laſt blows to the Royal deſpo- "tiſm. Recall your firmneſs. All pal- "liatives are exhauſted. No other reſource "is left. Be what you ought to be, or re- "nounce liberty. I have ſeen letters from "ſeveral Biſhops, which mention that they "wait the *Pope's* deciſion. Do you per- "ceive the conſequence of ſuch a conduct? "Diſobedience on the one hand, and ſubmiſ- "ſion on the other . . . How can Frenchmen "think we will ſubmit to the VETO of a "Tranſ-Alpine, of him whom they call the "great, the ſovereign Pontiff of the Church, "as if it had any other than JESUS CHRIST, "its founder," &c. &c.

The reſt of his ſpeech was a diſſertation as dull as indecent againſt the Biſhops, intermingled with ſome ſentences of Janſeniſm and hypocriſy. He concluded by moving, that the Preſident ſhould be charged to wait upon the King, to repreſent to him the numberleſs inconveniences which would reſult from his deferring the acceptance of the Decree of the 27th of November, and to entreat his Majeſty to give a definitive anſwer the following day.

The

The Abbé *Maury* ran immediately to the tribune demanding to be heard, and even the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* ſtrongly inſiſted that he ſhould be allowed to ſpeak. *Camus*, a little diſconcerted, and doubtleſs thinking himſelf abandoned by his party, had recourſe to the quirk of a pettifogger, and ſtarted a difficulty of form, to prevent the Abbé *Maury* from diſcuſſing the queſtion. He aſked the Preſident if the King's anſwer was ſigned, and if it had the ſtamp of legality? The Preſident anſwered that he had not been commiſſioned to aſk for a ſigned anſwer, and that he ſhould have brought back a verbal one if the King, after having read it, had not given it to him in writing. It was immediately propoſed to adjourn all deciſion on his Majeſty's anſwer till it had been addreſſed, ſigned, and counter-ſigned to the Aſſembly, and to charge the Preſident immediately to wait upon the King to demand it in that form, that the reſponſibility might never be uncertain. This motion, after long debates, was adopted in ſpite of all the Abbé *Maury* could ſay to prove that the form of the King's anſwer ought not to ſuſpend the deciſion on the queſtion.

It is here neceſſary to remark, that this Decree

cree of the 27th of November was not a conſtitutional Decree, but ſimply a Decree containing a law concerning the execution of the civil conſtitution of the Clergy; neither had it been preſented for the King's acceptance, which was always a matter of courſe, but for the ſanction, which it was underſtood he had the liberty of refuſing, informing the Aſſembly of his motives within eight days. *Camus* himſelf was ſo well convinced that this Decree could not be claſſed among the conſtitutional Decrees, that in the motion which he made at the opening of the Sitting of the 23d of December, he only ſpoke of the delay of the *ſanction*, and the Preſident was charged to aſk the motives why the Decree had not been yet *ſanctioned*, and to entreat his Majeſty without delay to give his *ſanction* to the ſaid Decree. The King having ſtated his motives in the anſwer which the Preſident had reported, had fully complied with the conſtitutional Decree that regulated the exerciſe of the right of ſanction; for it had not been decreed that his Majeſty ſhould ſign his motives, and cauſe them to be counter-ſigned by a Secretary of State.

By acknowledging and declaring as they had done, that reſponſibility was not attached

to

to the ſanction, it could not be ſubjected to forms required for acts where the Miniſters were reſponſible. Thus the obſervation made by *Camus* on the want of ſignature in the King's anſwer was, as I have before obſerved, a mere quibble; but although it produced the effect he meant it ſhould, he was not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs. He foreſaw that the King might return the ſame anſwer ſigned and counter-ſigned, and that in that caſe the ſanction, and conſequently the execution of the Decree of the 27th of November, would remain ſuſpended during his Majeſty's pleaſure. It was neceſſary to avoid this new embarraſſment, and the method he took was this. He no longer uſed in the Evening Sitting the words *ſanction*, and to *ſanction*, which he twice repeated in the motion made in the morning. He ſubſtituted the word *acceptance* as being much better calculated to inſure the prompt execution of the Decree; for the Aſſembly had attached to that ſingle word a kind of magic power of conferring the conſtitutional character to every Decree whatſoever, and they did not fail to employ it in all Decrees where they foreſaw the ſanction might be delayed or refuſed. It is true that hitherto they had not thought

thought proper to make uſe of it in Decrees which they had already acknowledged to contain merely legal objects, by preſenting them as ſuch for the ſanction. The obſtinate animoſity of *Camus* againſt the Clergy ſuggeſted to him this groſs artifice, which reduced to a ſervile and mechanical office the character already too inſignificant which was aſſigned to the King, in the exerciſe of the Executive Power. Several Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, who ſpoke after *Camus*, dwelt alſo on the *acceptance* of the Decree, and ſpoke no more of the *ſanction*. *Barnave*, in ſupporting the opinion that an anſwer in legal form ſhould be required of the King, formally declared that the queſtions, whether the right of the Conſtituent Body did not extend *to all acceſſary acts, neceſſary for carrying the Conſtitution into execution?* and whether thoſe were acts which required the ſanction? could not be attended with a ſhadow of doubt, when the Aſſembly ſhould think proper to conſider them.

The King, being informed by the Preſident of the Decree which had been paſſed, determined to adhere to his former anſwer, without any other alteration than the addition of his ſignature, and that of the Keeper of the

the Seals; but it was more than probable that upon this anſwer the Aſſembly would not have heſitated to declare the Decree of the 27th of November conſtitutional, to demand its acceptance, and to cauſe their demand to be ſupported by ſome popular commotions, which already began to be manifeſted under the windows of the Palace, by the motions of the groups, and by their vociferations againſt the Queen. This was the uſual manœuvre of the Factious. Theſe different conſiderations determined the King to accept, without further delay, the Decree of the 27th of November, and to declare it to the Aſſembly by the following letter, in which his Majeſty carefully underlined the words *accept*, and *acceptance*.

" I have *accepted* the Decree of the 27th " of November laſt. In yielding to the " wiſhes of the National Aſſembly, I am " happy to explain the motives that induced " me to delay this *acceptance*, and thoſe " which determine me to give it now. I " ſhall do it openly and frankly, as becomes " my character. This kind of communica- " tion between the National Aſſembly and " myſelf

" myſelf ought to draw cloſer the ties of " that mutual confidence ſo neceſſary to the " happineſs of France.

" I have ſeveral times repeated to the Na- " tional Aſſembly my invariable intention " of ſupporting, by every means in my " power, the Conſtitution which I have ac- " cepted, and ſworn to maintain. In delay- " ing to make known the *acceptance* of the " Decree, it was the wiſh of my heart that " the means of ſeverity might be prevented " by thoſe of gentleneſs; and by giving " time for cool reflection, I could not but " think that the execution of the Decree " would have been effected with a harmony " which would have been no leſs agreeable to " the National Aſſembly than to myſelf.

" I hoped that theſe motives of prudence " would be generally felt; but ſince doubts " have ariſen concerning my intentions, " which the known candour of my charac- " ter ſhould remove, my confidence in the " National Aſſembly urges me to *accept* the " Decree.

" I once more repeat, that the ſureſt and " moſt proper means of calming agitations, " and of conquering all reſiſtance, is the

" reciprocity

" reciprocity of this confidence between " the National Aſſembly and myſelf; it " is neceſſary; I deſerve it; I depend " upon it.

(Signed) " LOUIS.

And lower down, " DUPORT DU TERTRE."

The *Coté-Gauche* triumphant, warmly applauded their victory for ſeveral minutes; and the Galleries enraptured, without well knowing why, broke into the moſt noiſy joy. The ſame ſcene was renewed the following day when the oath was taken by ſixty Prieſts, or Monks, all Members of the Aſſembly, and all convinced that it would be doing injuſtice to the Legiſlative Body to ſuſpect them of intending to encroach upon the Church. " The very title of the civil " conſtitution of the Clergy," ſaid the Abbé *Gregoire*, " ſufficiently evinces the intention " of the Aſſembly. In the face of France, " and of the univerſe, they have ſolemnly " manifeſted their profound reſpect for Re- " ligion. It was never their deſign to make " the ſlighteſt attack upon the doctrines, the " hierarchy, and ſpiritual authority of the " head of the Church. They acknowledge

" theſe objects to be out of their juriſdic-
" tion," &c. &c. This revolutionary de-
moniac was not only an impudent liar, but
alſo, in other reſpects, one of the moſt worth-
leſs fellows in the Aſſembly.

Mirabeau attended none of the late Sit-
tings. He had informed the Aſſembly by
the Preſident, on the 22d of December,
that he meant to be abſent for a month.
This unexpected abſence, at ſo critical a
moment, equally aſtoniſhed all parties, and
occaſioned much converſation and many
conjectures. No one could gueſs at the
motives which actuated *Mirabeau* to leave
to others the honour or the popularity of
aiming the laſt blows at the Clergy, of
whom he had hitherto been one of the
moſt violent antagoniſts. The myſtery will
be cleared up in the following chapters, and
I ſhall conclude this by obſerving that, at
the ſame period in which the Aſſembly com-
pleted the total ſpoliation of the moſt re-
ſpectable miniſters of Religion, by impoſing
upon them, under pain of deprivation of
their benefices, an oath which they were
ſure they would never take, they were em-
ployed in regulating the mode of reſtoring
the

the confiſcated property of fugitive Proteſtants to their children and repreſentatives. The revenue of this property in the year 1790 amounted to 110,000 livres, as appears by the Decree of the 9th of December 1790. If there is a time for illegal confiſcation, the day of legal reſtitution muſt alſo arrive, and the laſt hour of a Government, whoſe baſis and ſole ſupport depend upon ſucceſſive and continual confiſcation, cannot be far off. It is a monſter that devours itſelf.

The month of December 1790, was alſo the period of the retreat of *M. Lambert*, the Comptroller-General, a Magiſtrate as eſtimable on account of his knowledge as of his virtues. He had ſucceeded *M. Necker* in the department of the Finances, or rather in ſuch inſignificant and trifling portions of that department, as the Aſſembly had not abſorbed: for they had ſo completely concentrated in their Committees all the branches of the Adminiſtration, that the Comptroller-General had leſs power, buſineſs, and influence, than formerly fell to the ſhare of his head clerks: and *M. de Leſſart*, who ſucceeded *M. Lambert* in a month after his

appointment *, united to the department of the Finances that of Miniſter of the Interior, become vacant by the reſignation of *M. de St. Prieſt.*

* The 25th of January 791.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXV.

A great Majority of the Deputies of the Clergy refuſe to take the new Oath—Fruitleſs Attempts to intimidate them—Decree relating to filling the Vacancies occaſioned in Eccleſiaſtical Preferments by the Deprivation of ſuch Dignitaries and Incumbents as had refuſed, or ſhould refuſe, to take the Oath—A ſublime Idea expreſſed by M. de Montlauſier—Extraordinary Addreſs compoſed by Mirabeau rejected—The Aſſembly embarraſſed—Denunciation of a new Club eſtabliſhed under the Title of Friends of the Monarchical Conſtitution—M. Malouet undertakes its Defence—The Mob ſurround the Houſe of M. de Clermont-Tonnere, who was a Member of the Club—Alarm occaſioned by the

Preparations made by Foreign Powers —Meaſures adopted by the Aſſembly relative to the Army, and the Appointment of Ambaſſadors—Mirabeau Preſident—The Profeſſors and Maſters of the Univerſity of Paris appear at the Bar of the Aſſembly, and take the new Oath.

RELIGION gained the pureſt triumph, and its faithful Miniſters were covered with glory on the day when the Aſſembly, impatient to enforce the Decree of the 27th of November, attempted to compel the Prelates and Parochial Clergy among them to take the oath ordained.

In the Sitting of the 2d of January, the Biſhop of *Clermont* aſcended the tribune with the intention of propoſing the form of an oath qualified with reſtrictions, which the Aſſembly could not have rejected without evidently betraying a deſign to put an end to all ſpiritual authority. As they did not yet dare to avow this plan, the Biſhop of *Clermont* was not ſuffered to unmaſk it. He had ſcarcely therefore articulated a word, when *Treilhard*, the Advocate, interrupted him, and moved that he ſhould be called

upon to declare, in the firſt place, whether he meant or not to take the oath pure and unqualified. This motion was put to the vote and carried, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances made by the Biſhop, and by ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Droit*. The Preſident then called upon the Biſhop of *Clermont* to declare, whether he meant or not to take the oath pure and unqualified? "To ſpeak explicitly," replied he, "and "as becomes my character, I declare I do "not think that I can conſcientiouſly take"— He was prevented from finiſhing his ſentence by ſeveral Members calling for the order of the day, which was adopted.

The oath which the Biſhop of *Clermont* would have taken was conceived in theſe terms:

"I ſwear to watch with care over the "faithful, whoſe conduct has been, or may "be, entruſted to me by the Church: to be "true to the Nation, to the Law, and to the "King; and to maintain with all my power, "in all that relates to political order, the "Conſtitution decreed by the National Aſ- "ſembly, and accepted by the King, with "the expreſs exception of thoſe matters

" which depend particularly upon the au-
" thority of the Church."

The very next day this oath was printed, and copies of it were diſperſed through the capital, under the following title: *The Civic Oath, propoſed by the Biſhop of Clermont on Sunday, the 2d of January* 1791, *adopted by a great number of the members of the Clergy, and which the National Aſſembly refuſed to hear.* In ſeveral copies of it even the word *pronounced* was ſubſtituted in the title in the place of that of *propoſed.*

This edition was denounced on the ſame day to the Aſſembly, and produced violent debates. The Biſhop of *Clermont* declared that in the edition printed from his own copy the word was *propoſed*; that he thought himſelf the more entitled to uſe that expreſſion, as he had in fact *propoſed* in the Aſſembly to take the oath there printed; and that after their refuſal to hear him, he had put it upon the table. " An oath," added he, " may be required of any perſon before his " admittance into an office, becauſe he is " then at liberty either to accept or refuſe it; " but no man in office ought to be called

" upon

" upon to take a new oath which he thinks
" repugnant to his conſcience. Mine may
" poſſibly deceive me; but according to its
" dictates, I can take no other oath than that
" which I have cauſed to be printed; and
" if that be not accepted, I declare that as I
" have neither reſigned, nor wiſh to reſign,
" I ſhall not conſider myſelf as deprived."

Barnave obſerved that it was inconſiſtent with the dignity of the Aſſembly to enter into this diſcuſſion, and moved that they ſhould ſimply declare to ſuch of their Members as were eccleſiaſtical public Functionaries that the time which was granted them for taking the oath would expire at one o'clock on the next day.

M. de Cazalès urged in vain all that wiſdom and juſtice could dictate againſt the propoſition; the adjournment which he propoſed was rejected, and *Barnave's* motion adopted.

Every revolutionary ſcheme, all the means of terror had been employed to inſure the ſucceſs of the Sitting of the 4th of January. The Decree of the 27th of November had been altered, and a forged ſentence introduced into the preamble, which declared thoſe Eccleſiaſtics who would not take the appointed

appointed oath diſturbers of the public tranquillity. This Decree, thus falſified, was ſtuck up at every quarter of the town by order of the Municipality early on Sunday morning, the 2d of January. It was read by the workmen of the Fauxbourgs, and by thoſe who had nothing to do on that day, and had been diſcuſſed in every public-houſe: the mob-orators treated the ſubject according to their ſtyle at the Palais-Royal, and without difficulty convinced their numerous hearers how important it was to ſupport the execution of it.

On the 4th of January, at the commencement of the Sitting, a tumultuous and threatening mob filled the galleries, and crouded all the avenues to the Hall. In the interval previous to the time fixed by the Decree that had been paſſed the day before, the Aſſembly reſumed the debate upon which they had entered reſpecting the organization of jurys in the courts of juſtice, and it laſted till two o'clock. The Abbé *Grégoire*, who had undertaken to convince and quiet the conſciences of the Clergy, then aſcended the tribune, and in the moſt calming tone advanced ſome aſſertions which would in fact have obviated ſeveral ſcruples, if the Aſſembly,

Aſſembly, after warmly applauding them, had not refuſed to avow them formally by a Decree. "It is only neceſſary," ſaid he, "to "underſtand one another; we all think "alike. It is certain that the Aſſembly "never intended to encroach on ſpiritual "affairs. It is certain that theſe are out of "their province; nobody will contradict this "aſſertion. The Aſſembly have formally "declared the principle, they have ever ac-"knowledged it, they have ever applauded "thoſe who have profeſſed it. They do not "judge men's conſciences, or even require "an inward aſſent: all they mean is, that "we ſhould ſwear obedience and fidelity to "the law. My opinion therefore is, that "the oath required need not alarm our con-"ſciences. Bound as I am by a fraternal "union to my brethren the Prieſts, and by "a moſt inviolable reſpect to our venerable "ſuperiors the Biſhops, I beg that they will "accept my explanation, and if I knew any "mode more fraternal or more reſpectful of "inviting them to admit it, I would make "uſe of it."

Mirabeau, who had declared on the 22d of December, that he ſhould abſent himſelf a month from the Aſſembly, nevertheleſs appeared

peared at this Sitting, and obſerved that the doctrine laid down by the Abbé *Grégoire* required to be expreſſed more clearly and ſimply; that the Aſſembly had no right to force any perſon to take an oath; that their powers were limited to declaring the refuſal of an oath incompatible with particular functions, and to conſidering ſuch a refuſal as a reſignation. He then inveighed in the moſt forcible manner againſt the unconſtitutional and atrocious advertiſement, which declared the Eccleſiaſtics who would not take the oath diſturbers of the public tranquillity. "The "Aſſembly," ſaid he, "never did, and "never can permit ſuch an advertiſement.— "Thoſe only are guilty, and diſturbers of "public tranquillity, who, having ſworn "ſubmiſſion to the law, do not obey it; or "who, refuſing to take the oath, perſiſt in "the exerciſe of their functions. It is by "a ſtrange miſtake, then, that theſe papers "ſhould have been ſtuck up. The juſtice "of the country ſhould ſee reparation "made."

M. Bailly, the chief of the Municipality, againſt whom theſe reproaches were levelled, anſwered, that being equally ſtruck with the miſtake, he had ſent to the Keeper of the Seals

Seals to aſk an explanation of it; who thought that it had been committed in the office to which the Decrees are referred, and who had been extremely hurt at it; that the Miniſter had immediately corrected the copy of the Decree; that a ſecond impreſſion had been ſtruck off, and was already paſted every where over the former

This explanation, however, did not prevent *M. Malouet* from inſiſting ſtrongly on the neceſſity of diſcovering and puniſhing the authors of ſo ſerious a piece of treachery.

Barnave, impatient to ſee the Decree which he had urged the day before executed, did not oppoſe any of his arguments; but moved that before the diſcuſſion of any other ſubject was entered upon, the Preſident ſhould call upon the Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries, who held a ſeat in the Aſſembly, to take the oath conformably to the Decree; and that he ſhould afterwards wait upon the King, to pray his Majeſty to order elections, according to the forms of the Conſtitution, for filling up the Biſhoprics and benefices vacant on default of taking the oath.

This motion was followed by debates on the queſtion, whether the explanation given by the Abbé *Gregoire* ſhould be inſerted or not

not on the Journals? as had been propoſed by *Camus*, who afterwards withdrew his motion. The Abbé *Maury* and *M. Depreſmenil* repeatedly deſired to ſpeak, but they were conſtantly refuſed. All the amendments were rejected, and *Barnave's* motion decreed. The Preſident in conſequence acted as the Decree preſcribed; and informed the Eccleſiaſtical Members that they were held bound to anſwer to the call of names which was going to be made.

The dead ſilence that followed, and which laſted for ſome minutes, was interrupted by the howlings of the brigands who ſurrounded the Hall. The cries of—*To the lantern! Away with the Nonjurors, to the lantern!* were diſtinctly heard. The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, tranſported with indignation, called upon the Preſident to put an end to this tumult. He had already given orders to that effect, and *M. Bailly*, it was ſaid, had gone to enforce them with the gentle influence of his popularity. But the influence of the Mayor was not more efficacious than the authority of the Preſident, and it was amidſt the ſanguinary clamours of the populace that the call of names began; the Eccleſiaſtical Members, who had not as yet taken the oath, being

being addreſſed alphabetically. The Biſhop of *Agen* was named the firſt, and deſired to ſpeak. "No ſpeaking," cried out ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Gauche*; "will you "take the oath or not?" This violent ſummons being ſupported out of doors by redoubled vociferations, ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Droit* again remonſtrated to the Preſident: ſome of them declared that the Aſſembly were not free, and proteſted in the name of their conſtituents. The Biſhop of *Agen* at length obtained a hearing. This was the firſt time that he had ſpoken in this Aſſembly, and his words will be immortal. "I feel no regret," ſaid he, "for the loſs "of my preferment; I feel no regret for my "fortune, but I ſhould regret the loſs of "your eſteem, which I am determined to "deſerve. I beg you then to believe that I "feel great pain at not being able to take the "oath you require."

This declaration, as bold as it was edifying, was received with repeated applauſes by the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, but heard with rage by thoſe of the *Coté-Gauche*.

The perſon next called, after the Biſhop of *Agen*, was a Pariſh Prieſt of his dioceſe, *M. Fournès*, of Puymarin. "I will anſwer "you,"

" you," ſaid he, " with the ſimplicity of the " primitive Chriſtians, to which you wish " to bring us back, that I glory in following " my Biſhop, as Saint Laurence did his " paſtor."

M. Le Clerc, a clergyman of the Dioceſe of Cambray, being the third called upon, had ſcarcely pronounced the words—" I am " a member of the Apoſtolical Catholic " Church," than he was interrupted by the moſt violent murmurs. " The ſummons to " take the oath," obſerved *Roederer*, " ad- " mits no other anſwer than that of taking, " or of refuſing to take it." This obſervation being ſupported with violence by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the Preſident declared that conformably to the Decree the Eccleſiaſtics, as they were called upon, ſhould anſwer ſimply, " I ſwear," or " I refuſe." " This," exclaimed *M. de Foucault*, " is tyranny indeed: the very Em- " perors who perſecuted the martyrs ſuffered " them to pronounce the name of God, and " to utter the teſtimonies of their fidelity to " Religion."

It was but too probable that the fury of the Jacobins, thus defeated in their attempt, would proceed to the greateſt exceſſes, and that

that the liſt of this call of names would become a real liſt of proſcription. This apprehenſion ſuggeſted the following motion to *M. de Bonnai*: "I have not the honour," ſaid he, "of being an Eccleſiaſtic, but ſtill I think "it my duty to obſerve that this call, which "is begun, has not *been decreed by the "Aſſembly*, and that this mode, ſo unneceſ- "ſarily adopted by the Preſident, may be at- "tended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. "You know that a forgery has been com- "mitted in the proclamation of the Decree; "and you have been told that this miſtake "was corrected: it was however too late, "and not completely done. I have this very "day ſeen ſimilar proclamations ſtuck up, "that have excited ſevere cenſures in the "minds of the ill-diſpoſed, which would "expoſe the Clergy who do not take the "oath to the moſt imminent danger, if their "names were made known to the multitude. "Several oaths have been individually taken, "and the names of the Eccleſiaſtics who "conſented to it have been entered on the "Journals. It only then remains to ſum- "mon collectively to the tribune all public "Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries, who are Mem- "bers of the Aſſembly. This mode will

" not be attended with the danger of the
" call of names. The names of thoſe who
" ſhall take the oath may be inſerted on the
" Journals, and they whoſe names ſhall not
" be found there may be conſidered as incur-
" ring deprivation."

The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* did not oppoſe this motion. They ſaw that although its object was to prevent horrible maſſacres, its effect would be to render the triumph of religion leſs ſolemn, and the defeat of the Jacobins leſs humiliating. The Preſident, therefore, perſiſted no longer in the call of names, but addreſſing the public Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries, he called upon them collectively to aſcend the tribune. A Curate, of the name of *Landrin*, was the only one who dared to take the oath conformably to the Decree. Two more offered to take it with the reſtrictions propoſed by the Biſhop of *Clermont*, but were refuſed. A third declaring that he was ready to ſwear in conformity to the ſentiment of the Aſſembly, who had declared they did not mean to encroach upon ſpiritual concerns, the Preſident anſwered him, that the Aſſembly had in fact decreed that in no circumſtance whatever did they mean to controul ſpiritual affairs;

fairs; an anſwer which the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, yielding to the firſt impulſe, applauded, not ſuſpecting the advantage which *M. de Cazalès* would draw from it. "It is the duty of the Preſident," ſaid he, "to ſpeak the will of the Aſſembly: I aſk "if that be really its will, and I move that "they declare it poſitively," The Preſident embarraſſed, made no reply, and there was a dead ſilence for a quarter of an hour. *M. de Cazalès* repeated his motion, but it was rejected by ſhouts of, "To the Order of the "Day! to the Order of the Day!" Theſe ſhouts were an appeal to religious heroiſm, and the Biſhop of *Poitiers* aſcended the tribune: "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "I am ſe-"venty years old, and have paſſed thirty-"five in the Epiſcopacy, in which I have "done my beſt to diſcharge my duty. "Weighed down as I now am with years "and infirmities, I will not diſhonour my "old age. I cannot take an oath againſt "my conſcience"——"Say yes, or no," cried the demoniacs of the *Coté-Gauche*. "I prefer living in poverty, and will take "my fate in the ſpirit of penitence."

The animated applauſes, and the no leſs honourable murmurs which this declaration

excited, were followed by an interval of ſilence of which *M. de Cazalès* took advantage to requeſt again that the Aſſembly would declare formally by a Decree, either that it was not their intention to controul ſpiritual affairs, or that they would adopt the reſtriction propoſed by the Biſhop of *Clermont*, which tended exactly to the ſame end.

Mirabeau obſerved, that the queſtion concerning ſpirituality had no object, and in no reſpect obviated the difficulty, which entirely conſiſted in determining what the diſſenting Members called *ſpiritual*, and what the Aſſembly called *temporal*. *M. de Cazalès* perſiſted, but without ſucceſs. The Abbé *Maury* aſcended the tribune, but the Aſſembly decided that he ſhould not be heard. At length the Preſident, for the laſt time, called upon the public Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries to take the oath conformably to the Decree.

The Aſſembly waited in vain for ſome minutes the effect of this definitive call. No one preſented himſelf; no Biſhop, no Prieſt ſpoke, and all heard with a ſerenity above praiſe the Decree pronounced which was to complete their deprivation.

It had been ſettled by a Decree of the 24th of Auguſt 1790, that no perſon could be

elected

elected to a Biſhopric unleſs he had previouſly diſcharged, for fifteen years at leaſt, the functions of an Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter in the Dioceſes, &c. and that to be eligible to a benefice it was alſo neceſſary to have exerciſed the duties of an Eccleſiaſtic for a given time within the rounds of the diſtrict. The execution of this Decree was incompatible with the replacing of all the Biſhops of France except three *, and many thouſands of Pariſh Prieſts and Curates ſuddenly, and at once. But this obſtacle was removed by another Decree of the Aſſembly (on the 7th of January), which ordained, 1ſt, that with reſpect to the vacancies of Biſhoprics during the year 1791, every French Prieſt, actually an incumbent, or who had acted in the capacity of public Functionary for the term of five years, ſhould be eligible in any of the Departments; 2dly, that with reſpect to the vacancies of pariſh churches during the ſame year, every Frenchman who had been a Prieſt for the ſpace of five years ſhould alſo be eli-

* The Archbiſhop of *Sens*, the Biſhop of *Orleans*, and the Biſhop of *Autun*. The letter which the Biſhop of *Autun* addreſſed to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, to engage them to follow his example, was publiſhed in all the Revolutionary Journals.—See Appendix, No. xii.

gible in all the Departments. The Eccleſiaſtical Committee was charged at the ſame time to preſent to the Aſſembly, as ſoon as poſſible, a plan of information reſpecting the civil conſtitution of the Clergy, to be ſent to the Directories of the Departments, with an order to publiſh it throughout their juriſdiction, for the purpoſe of inſtructing the people, and of preventing the alarms which ſome men might ſpread on the fate of Religion.

M. de Montloſier propoſed, with an air of pleaſantry, that *Rabaud de St. Etienne* and *Barnave*, both of whom were Proteſtants, ſhould be added to the Eccleſiaſtical Committee, to draw up this plan of information. But ſoon altering his tone, "I do "not think," ſaid he, "that the Biſhops "can be forced to quit their Sees. If they "are driven from their epiſcopal palaces, "they will retire to the huts of the cot-"tagers, who have fed upon their bounty. "If golden croſſes be taken from them, they "will find wooden croſſes; it was a wooden "one that ſaved the world."

Mirabeau, who was the author of this Decree, had alſo drawn up a plan of inſtruction, or addreſs, which the Eccleſiaſtical Committee

Committee adopted on his recommendation, and which he read in the Sitting of the 14th of January. The reading of it, ſometimes interrupted by the murmurs of the *Coté-Droit*, and much oftener by the applauſes of the *Coté-Gauche*, laſted more than an hour *. This paper is the more remarkable, as to thoſe who were ignorant of the purpoſe for which it was compoſed, it exhibited a very extraordinary medley of eloquence and quackery, of impiety and hypocriſy, of impoſture and truth. But when the ſituation of *Mirabeau* at that period, his ſecret views, and the abſolute neceſſity he was under of acquiring great popularity to attain his object, are underſtood; when it is known that his plan was to draw up this paper, ſo as to produce an effect equally contrary to the expectation of thoſe whoſe enthuſiaſm it was intended to rouze, and to the apprehenſions of thoſe whom it was meant to irritate, it will be impoſſible to peruſe this performance without finding in it the ability, profound art, and ſuperior talents of its author. It depended on a trifle to have made the whole Aſſembly the dupes of it, and to have cauſed

* Appendix, No. xiii.

it to have been as enthuſiaſtically adopted by them as it had been by the Eccleſiaſtical Committee. In fact, from the beginning of it to the end, it excited the livelieſt applauſes from the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, while it raiſed the moſt indignant murmurs among the *Coté-Droit*. *Camus* alone, leſs ſuſceptible of enthuſiaſm than the other Members of his party, felt himſelf ſhocked at the glaring paſſages, and at ſome exaggerations puſhed perhaps too far. "It is impoſſible to hear this," he exclaimed with indignation; "it contains abominations that "cannot coolly be heard: I move that it be "adjourned, and ſent back to the Eccleſiaſtical Committee, and that the Sitting "ſhould now terminate." The effect which this addreſs had upon *Camus* was a plain indication of that which it would have produced through the kingdom upon all the Catholics ſincerely attached to Religion.

After a few moments of tumult and agitation, *Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely* obſerved, in juſtification of the Eccleſiaſtical Committee, "that it was poſſible that ſince "the firſt reading of the addreſs before "them, ſome changes might have been "made in it by the author." *Mirabeau* enraged,

raged, replied: "It is falſe. I declare literally that ſince its ſecond and third reading before the Committee, I have not changed a word, not a comma in my addreſs; and for my own perſonal juſtification, I demand that the preſent form of this addreſs be verified: it muſt be known. There is not a line, not an expreſſion in it, for which I am not ready to anſwer with my life, and with my honour." He then laid it upon the table, and it was ſigned and counter-ſigned by the ſecretaries; but this did not prevent the motion of *Camus* from being adopted, ſupported as it was by all the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and by ſeveral of thoſe of the *Coté-Gauche*.

The new addreſs was preſented in the Sitting of the 21ſt of January, in the name of the Eccleſiaſtical Committee, and of the Committees of Alienation, Reports, and Inquiry, who had united for the purpoſe of drawing it up. The principles diſplayed and acknowledged in it were nearly the ſame as thoſe propoſed by the Clergy. "The repreſentatives of the French people," it ſaid, "ſtrongly attached to the religion of their forefathers, and to the Catholic Church,

"of

" of which the *Pope* was the viſible head
" on earth, had placed in the firſt rank of
" the expences of the State thoſe attending
" the maintenance of its miniſters and of its
" worſhip. They had reſpected its tenets
" and ſecured the perpetuity of its inſtruc-
" tion. Convinced that its doctrine and the
" Catholic faith had their foundation in an
" authority ſuperior to that of man, they
" knew that it was out of their power to
" reach it, or to controul that authority
" which was wholly ſpiritual: they knew
" that God himſelf had eſtabliſhed it, and
" that he had confided it to the care of paſ-
" tors, whoſe duty it was to take the charge
" of ſouls, to procure them thoſe ſuccours
" which Religion ſecure to men, to perpe-
" tuate the ſucceſſion of its miniſters, and
" to enlighten and direct the conſcience of
" their fellow-creatures. But at the ſame
" time that the National Aſſembly were pe-
" netrated with theſe ſublime truths, to
" which they paid every homage whenever
" they were mentioned in their Sittings, yet
" the Conſtitution for which the People had
" called, required the promulgation of new
" laws with reſpect to the civil organiza-
" tion

tion of the Clergy, and it became neceſ-
" ſary to fix its exterior relations with the
" political order of the State."

But it was not ſufficient to write down theſe truths, or to acknowledge that none of the objects which related to the authoriy of the Church, were in the cognizance of the Aſſembly; the buſineſs was to prove that the civil conſtitution of the Clergy did not encroach on the ſpiritual power, as every refuſal to take the oath was founded upon this objection. The new addreſs anſwered this only with ſubtilities and ſophiſms evidently inſincere. This was what the Abbé *Maury* never ceaſed repeating and demonſtrating, but he was interrupted at every ſentence, and an attempt was made to prevent his ſpeaking upon the pretence that he calumniated the Aſſembly, and that inſtead of giving his opinion on the addreſs itſelf, he diſcuſſed the civil conſtitution of the Clergy. When the Abbé *Maury* attempted to refute theſe abſurdities, a loud beat of drums near the Hall reduced him to ſilence; the addreſs was then put to the vote and adopted.

In the following Sittings theſe debates were renewed, on the meaſures propoſed by the Committees to accelerate the execution of the

the Decrees relative to the taking of the oath, and to the replacing of thoſe who ſhould refuſe it. The warmth and precipitation of the Aſſembly on this occaſion involved them in many contradictions, and ſometimes reduced them to the neceſſity of revoking Decrees they had paſſed only the day before, and which were incompatible with thoſe already ſanctioned. For inſtance, the Decree of the 27th of November, fixed the time for taking the oath by the Eccleſiaſtics out of the kingdom, at two months; that of the 18th of December relative to the Public Functionaries travelling or employed in foreign countries, allowed them but one month to take their civic oath, but it made no mention of the miniſters of divine worſhip, and yet the Aſſembly decreed on the 26th of January, that after the expiration of the time granted by the decree of the 18th of December, the proceeding ſhould be carried into effect for replacing the public Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries, who ſhould not be preſent and reſiding in the kingdom, and who ſhould not have taken their civic oath.

In this Sitting *M. de Cazalès* inſiſted with more energy than ever on the neceſſity of ſuſpending the execution of the Decree of the

27th

27th of November. He foreſaw and ſtated all its conſequences, and the event has but too well juſtified his predictions. "Would to Heaven," ſaid he, "that theſe walls "could expand and hold every individual of "the Nation aſſembled. The people of "France would hear us, they would judge "between you and me. I tell you that a "ſchiſm is preparing; I tell you that the "whole body of the Biſhops of France, and "that the great majority of the inferior "Clergy believe that the principles of Reli-"gion forbid them to obey your Decrees, "that this conviction grows ſtronger from "contradiction, and that thoſe principles "are of an order ſuperior to your laws; that "expelling the Biſhops from their ſees, and "the Prieſts from their pariſhes in order to "overcome this reſiſtance, is not the way to "overcome it; you will be but at the com-"mencement of the courſe of perſecution "that opens before you. Do you imagine "that the Biſhops expelled from their ſees "will not excommunicate thoſe who ſhall "be put in their places? Do you think "that a great part of the faithful will not "remain attached to their former paſtors, "and to the eternal precepts of the Church?

Then

" Then comes ſchiſm; religious diſputes
" commence; then will the people doubt
" the validity of the ſacraments, and dread
" to ſee flying from them that ſublime Re-
" ligion, which taking man up from his
" cradle and accompanying him to his
" grave, offers him the beſt conſolation in
" all the trials of life: then will the vic-
" tims of the Revolution be multiplied, and
" the Kingdom be divided. You will ſee
" Catholics wandering over the ſurface of
" the Empire, following their perſecuted
" Miniſters into caverns and deſerts. You
" will ſee them in every part of the King-
" dom reduced to that ſtate of miſery and
" perſecution into which the Huguenots
" were plunged by the revocation of the
" Edict of Nantz. If you would be ſenſi-
" ble of the incalculable evils you will
" bring upon your Country, or if you
" wiſhed to ſhow your affection for the
" Nation, you would take time, you would
" wait for the approbation of the Church of
" France. The queſtion that divides us is
" a vile queſtion of form and pride. Why
" ſhould you fear to ſay that you have been
" miſtaken, when the execution of the civil
" conſtitution of the Clergy may be the

" con-

" conſequence of the acknowledgement? " Why ſhould you refuſe to give up a De- " cree, when you ſee that obſtinately per- " ſiſting will be your deſtruction, and that " the Church of France has ſhown you the " error into which you have fallen? From " the murmurs that riſe, I perceive that I " am obliged to declare in my own name, " and in that of my colleagues, that we will " not take any part in this determination, that " we will never abandon, but ever acknow- " ledge for our worthy paſtors thoſe whom " the Church has acknowledged."

The Decree of the 26th of January had been propoſed the day before, during the Evening Sitting, immediately after a Report had been made on the oath taken, with reſtrictions by a Clergyman of the dioceſe of Amiens; and it was on that occaſion that *Barnave* violently denounced a club which had juſt been formed, under the title of *Friends of the Monarchical Conſtitution.* Among its founders there were ſeveral of the Members of the Aſſembly, and particularly thoſe, who having vainly attempted to form a third party in the Aſſembly under the title of *Independents,* had drawn upon themſelves the cenſure of the other two, and chiefly

that

that of the *Coté-Gauche*, againſt whoſe motions they always contended. Of this number were *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* and *M. Malouet*. The title of this new club, the members who formed it, and the acts of public beneficence by which it ſoon began to render itſelf popular, greatly alarmed the Jacobins. "It is time," exclaimed *Barnave* in his denunciation, "it is time to ſave the State from "the calamities to which its enemies would "deliver it, and from the horrors of a civil "war to which they would certainly con-"duct it. While ſome, regretting impious "abuſes, ſupport their credit with the ſacred "name of Religion, another ſect is riſing. "They are votaries of the Monarchical "Conſtitution, and under that Ægis, cun-"ningly contrived, the Factious are endea-"vouring to divide us, and to draw the "citizens into their ſnares by giving them "poiſoned bread. The moment is not yet "ripe for opening to you the ſchemes of "this artful, perfidious, and factious aſſoci-"ation; but no doubt the Magiſtrates ap-"pointed to watch over the public tranquil-"lity have taken proper precautions on the "occaſion; no doubt the Committee of In-"quiry will ſoon lay an information before "the

"the Aſſembly of theſe anti-revolutionary "proceedings; of theſe diſtributions of "bread at half price, deſtined to ſpread con-"fuſion among the People: no doubt they "will denounce by name thoſe who are not "afraid to ſhew themſelves the heads of "this Faction; but I thought it my duty "to mention theſe circumſtances to you, "becauſe it appeared evident to me that "ſuch audacity, ſuch barefaced manœuvres "in the face of the Revolution, and in a "City which always defended it and ever "will defend it, had a ſupport and reſted "their hopes on the commotions and reſiſt-"ance intended to be produced by means of "the Clergy's refuſing to take the oath."

He thought, that in order to diminiſh the number of thoſe who might refuſe, it would be proper to begin, not with rigour againſt the inferior Clergy whoſe intereſt attached them to the new order of things, but with the deprivation of all the Biſhops from one end of the Kingdom to the other, and thoſe who were members of the Aſſembly ſhould be held to be already ſuperſeded. Theſe declamations which were applauded with rapture by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, ſhocked thoſe of the *Coté-Droit*. In the midſt of the tumult

occaſioned by the conflict of applauſes and murmurs, *M. Malouet* ſeveral times attempted to refute the charges brought againſt the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Conſtitution. He inſiſted that *Barnave* ſhould lay his denunciation upon the table, that the Aſſembly ſhould appoint a Court for the trial of the accuſed, and he denounced the club of the Jacobins and their manœuvres as the cauſe of all diſorder; but he could obtain no attention, and was interrupted at every word by the clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*, and by the vociferations of the galleries. The tumult became ſo violent, that the Preſident, to ſtop it, put the Decree propoſed relative to the affair at Amiens to the vote, and broke up the Sitting.

With reſpect to the Decree of the 26th of January, as it regarded the public Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries abſent from the Kingdom, it was repealed the next day; and that of the 27th of November, which granted a delay of two months for taking the oath, was adhered to. *Mirabeau* even propoſed to include in this arrangement all the public Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries, whether preſent or abſent. "An arrangement," ſaid he, "that will be both prudent and mild; for

"mild it will be to treat the public func-
"tionaries who continue refractory to the
"Law, as if they were abſent."

The denunciation of the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Conſtitution was only a manifeſto of the Jacobins. They allowed only an interval of ſix-and-thirty hours between this declaration of war and the commencement of hoſtilities. On the 27th of January, the houſe of *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* was beſet by the People. This ſeditious riot was denounced to the Aſſembly by *M. Malouet;* who, not without many urgent entreaties, prevailed upon the Preſident to ſend immediate advice of it to the Municipality. *M. Bailly* repaired to the ſpot, and by his preſence and exhortations, and particularly by the aſſiſtance of a detachment of the National Guard, ſaved *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre*'s houſe from being plundered, and perhaps from being burnt. *M. de Clermont* arrived himſelf before the crowd was diſperſed, and as ſoon as he was perceived ten or twelve voices cried out *To the lantern!* Happily however for him this cry was not ſupported by the majority, which was owing to the aſſurances given by *M. Bailly* of the purity of the intentions of

the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Conſtitution *.

This petty war againſt clubs or aſſociations of Royaliſts, requiring only ſome particular mobs, and ending in the pillage or burning of ſome houſes, and from time to time in the aſſaſſination of an Ariſtocrat, was no doubt unworthy the attention of the National Repreſentation; therefore this portion of the revolutionary department was entirely left to the Jacobins. An object of greater importance at that time occupied the Aſſembly. Alarms had been ſpread and became almoſt general reſpecting the ſafety of the State from abroad. They were occaſioned by the uneaſineſs expreſſed by ſeveral of the powers of Europe, the preparations which they ſeemed to be making, the perſevering remonſtrances of the Members of the German Empire who had poſſeſſions in Alſace, and by the movements of the French Emigrants. The Military and Diplomatic Committees, and Committee of Inquiry, who were charged to examine and propoſe meaſures beſt adapted to remove the

* On the 28th of March following the People went in a crowd to the Monarchical Club, and diſperſed its members by pelting them with ſtones.

fears

fears of the Nation, and to put the frontiers of the Kingdom in the moſt reſpectable ſtate of defence, preſented the reſult of their labours in the Sitting of the 28th of January. It was divided into two parts. The one related to military meaſures, and was the object of a report made by *Alexander de Lameth*: the other treated of political or diplomatic meaſures, which *Mirabeau* diſplayed in a very remarkable report. He examined and diſcuſſed the means and the ſituation of the different Powers of Europe: all of them, according to him, both wanted and deſired peace. "If the progreſs of our "Revolution," ſaid he, "make our neigh- "bours uneaſy, their fear is itſelf a pledge "that they will not attempt to diſturb us "by dangerous provocations. Are you "frightened at a few French Refugees and "ſome ſoldiers ſecretly enrolled? But has "not the hatred of ſuch enemies exhaled "till now in empty menaces? Where are "their allies? What great Nation will eſ- "pouſe their cauſe, will furniſh them with "arms and ſubſidies, will laviſh upon them "the produce of its taxes and the blood of "its citizens? Is it England? What have "we to hope or to fear from the Engliſh

"Miniſtry? To eſtabliſh from this mo-
"ment grand foundations of an unalterable
"amity between their Nation and ours
"would be an act of virtuous and wiſe
"policy: to wait events, to take meaſures
"for acting a part, and perhaps for agitat-
"ing Europe rather than be idle, would be
"the buſineſs of mean politicians. Will
"the Engliſh Miniſtry, having the choice
"of theſe two courſes, chooſe that which
"will produce good without any noiſe, or
"that which will be attended with noiſe
"and miſchief? Perhaps the Factious,
"who are waiting for ſome chances to exe-
"cute, under the ſpecious names of *Liberty*
"and *Patriotiſm*, projects which are un-
"known to us, hope to find them in a great
"popular agitation; but this ſtruggle of
"intrigue and ambition againſt a generous
"and credulous patriotiſm is undoubtedly
"alſo a war, &c. &c."

The military meaſures propoſed by the Committees conſiſted in completing all the regiments, in forming a war eſtabliſhment of the National Guards, and an auxiliary army of one hundred thouſand men, to be engaged for three years, on condition of joining the regiments for which they ſhould be enrolled

rolled the moment they were called upon; and of theſe regiments thirty of foot and twenty of horſe ſhould be ſtationed throughout the frontiers on the ſide of Germany and Savoy *.

"Our diplomatic meaſures," cried *Mirabeau*, "require that we henceforth employ "for our external relations only ſuch men "as may not expoſe the French power by "their doubts of our ſucceſs; ſuch as are "not total ſtrangers to the new language, of "which they ought to be the organs; and "not men who, whether from their ignorance of the regeneration of their country, "or that their ancient prejudices are ſtruggling againſt their duty, or that an inveterate habit of ſerving deſpotiſm will not "allow them to riſe to the elevation of a "ſyſtem of liberty, may be the mere agents

* The Aſſembly was at this time occupied with the organization of the Navy. The ſtate of the naval forces of France, publiſhed in the month of January 1791, was as follows: 84 ſhips of the line, 10 of which were upon the ſtocks; 68 frigates, of which 6 were upon the ſtocks; 29 corvettes, 22 brigs, 14 pinks, and 16 lighters. The number of theſe veſſels armed and ready to put to ſea amounted to 21 ſhips of the line, 28 frigates, 8 corvettes, 11 brigs, 5 pinks, and 2 lighters.

" of the Miniſtry, or the confidents of " ariſtocracy, inſtead of the repreſentatives " of a ſpirited Nation."

Theſe two reports, and particularly that of *Mirabeau*, were loudly and repeatedly applauded, and the Decrees propoſed by the Committees were adopted without debate.

The important part which *Mirabeau* acted in the Aſſembly, by his talents and his popularity, was not ſufficient for his vanity. " It is not enough," ſaid he, " when one " ſtarts in a courſe to be remarked in the " crowd; a man ſhould be conſpicuous in " the foremoſt ranks, and obtain all that it " is poſſible to obtain." He therefore wiſhed to be appointed Preſident of the Aſſembly; and the more at this period, as whatever could make the ſlighteſt addition to his credit and conſideration appeared to him uſeful to the plan which he was meditating. His wiſhes were gratified on the 29th of January, when the Preſident announced that there appeared in the ballot for the nomination of his ſucceſſor, a decided majority in favour of *Mirabeau*.

In the firſt Sitting at which he preſided it was propoſed, that the decree paſſed upon his report ſhould be enforced againſt the Cardi-

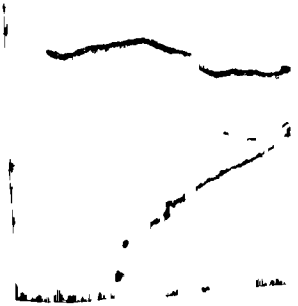
nal

nal *de Bernis*, the Ambaſſador at Rome, who had ſent his oath with reſtrictions. The Aſſembly, however, were unwilling to give this retroſpective effect to Decrees of which the Cardinal could not have been informed, and contented themſelves with ſending back this oath, as inſufficient, to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs. In the number of the oaths taken without reſtriction, and which the revolutionary journaliſts were eager to publiſh, I ſhall confine myſelf to mentioning as one of the moſt ſcandalous, that of the principal profeſſors and maſters of the Univerſity of Paris.

They were not contented with ſimply taking the oath; they wiſhed to give to this diſgraceful action, to which they had ſubmitted from the fordid motive of preſerving their places, the ſame notoriety which all the Biſhops and thouſands of virtuous Clergymen had given to the courageous, the heroic refuſal, by which they made a ſacrifice of their rank and fortune to Religion and their conſcience. This corrupt Univerſity appeared without bluſhing at the bar of the Aſſembly, where their Rector, *Dumouchel*, delivered the moſt diſguſting ſpeech in favour of all the Decrees, and particularly of that

that which related to the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy. "We acknowledge," ſaid this apoſtate, or rather old dotard; "that far "from being the ſlighteſt infringement upon "the holy Religion which we all profeſs, "this wiſe Decree eſtabliſhes it in its pri- "mitive purity, renders it more auguſt and "venerable even in the eyes of its enemies, "and more conformable to the ſpirit of the "Goſpel and to the precepts of its divine "Author. We thought that it was not "enough to confine theſe ſentiments to our "own boſoms, but that it was our duty, as "inſtructors of the French youth, to de- "clare them in this open and formal man- "ner, in order to give our pupils an ex- "ample of reſpect and of obedience."

By this diſgraceful conduct they loſt many pupils; but they preſerved their places, and that was their grand object.



CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Mirabeau on good Terms with the Court —His Plan is approved by the King— The Means of executing it diſcuſſed with M. de Montmorin and M. Malouet —M. Malouet's Opinion—Mirabeau has ſecret Interviews with the King and Queen—Important Myſteries diſcloſed by him to their Majeſties and M. de Montmorin—Origin of the Syſtem of Terror—The Duke de la Rochefoucault; his Character—Mirabeau diſplays the greateſt Talents in the Office of Preſident—Great uneaſineſs occaſioned by the Departure of Meſdames, the King's Aunts—Motion concerning the Duties*

* MESDAMES is an appellation appropriated to the King's aunts, when mentioned collectively.

of

of the reigning Family—Movement among the Royaliſts in the Department of the Gard—A Letter of the Biſhop of Uzés denounced to the Aſſembly—A Report ſpread that Monſieur and Madame intend to quit Paris—Riot—The King's Aunts being arreſted at Arnay-le-Duc, write to the Preſident—Mirabeau maintains that there is no Law againſt their Journey, and cauſes the Affair to be referred to the Executive Power—The People irritated go in a Croud to the Tuileries—Conſecration of two Conſtitutional Biſhops.

HERE opens one of the moſt intereſting periods of the Revolution, and I may alſo ſay one of the leaſt known; for very few were admitted into the ſecret of its moſt important circumſtances; and the ſuſpicions, the vague conjectures, the calumnies of ignorance, or of malignity, have only thickened the veil which ſtill covers them, and which it is time to draw aſide. It is a duty impoſed upon me by the intereſts of truth, and of the memory of *Louis XVI.* who is accuſed by the Regicides of having corrupted *Mirabeau*, and purchaſed from him

him a plan of counter-revolution. I ſhall now then relate what I know, and what I can affirm, having received the moſt circumſtantial information on the ſubject from *M. de Montmorin*; nor do I fear that what I aſſert will be contradicted by the four or five witneſſes ſtill remaining out of the ſmall number of thoſe who were acquainted with the facts *.

I dined at *M. de Montmorin's* on Saturday the 22d of January 1791, and remained there till nine o'clock in the evening. On opening the door of the hall to go home, I ſaw *Mirabeau* going out of the Miniſter's cabinet, and immediately ſtopped, not only to let him paſs, but to try to diſcover what was the object of ſo extraordinary a viſit. I went to *M. de Montmorin*: "What," ſaid I to him, "do you "alſo receive that man!"—"Yes, indeed; "and I believe that you would receive him "too, if the King had given you orders."—"The King has ordered you to receive *Mi-*"*rabeau!*"—"He has, and I have already "ſeen him ſeveral times."—"This is ſome "new ſnare."—"No, quite the contrary."

* I am only permitted to mention the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, the Baron *de Gilliers*, and *M. Malouet*.

"—But

" —But can you put any confidence in ſuch " a villain?"—" Villain!..... He is not " perhaps ſo great a one as you believe him " to be."—" How! after that abominable " addreſs which he propoſed laſt week on " the civil conſtitution of the Clergy!"— " Yes, even after that: and how aſtoniſhed " would you be were I to tell you that that " addreſs, which gives you ſo much offence, " was calculated to produce a very important " effect, and that it is very unlucky it was " not adopted?"—" I ſhould be ſo aſtoniſh- " ed that I ſhould not be able to believe it." " —Yet you would be wrong, for nothing " is truer. Do you not know then that ſince " the month of June laſt, *Mirabeau* has at- " tached himſelf to the King, that he went " more than once to St. Cloud while the " Royal Family were there, and that he has " had ſome ſecret conferences with his Ma- " jeſty? He ſuddenly broke them off when " the Judges of the Chatelet reſumed the " proceedings on the crimes of the 6th of " October, and came to the Aſſembly to pro- " poſe a Decree of accuſation againſt him. " He imagined this to be a ſtroke of envy " and malice levelled at him by *La Fayette*, " on being informed of his interviews with

" the

" the King, and he believed that their Ma-
" jeſties, intimidated by the General's me-
" naces, or ſeduced by his promiſes, had been
" parties in the plot, or at leaſt conſented to
" it. He was afterwards poſitively aſſured
" that the King and Queen, far from taking
" any part in the matter, had not the ſlight-
" eſt knowledge of it, and he deſired to re-
" new the negotiation of the month of June.
" Things are already in a good train."—" I
" know not a word of this: but after all, to
" what does it tend? Has *Mirabeau* fur-
" niſhed a plan?"—" I cannot anſwer that
" queſtion for ſome days. I ſhould not
" even have ſaid ſo much to-day if I was
" not ſo well aſſured of your diſcretion."

In fact, it was not till towards the end of the month of February that I was informed by *M. de Montmorin* of the following particulars.

Count *L.* an intimate friend of *Mirabeau's*, had often ſpoken of him to the King and Queen as of a man eaſy to be brought back to monarchichal principles, provided that thoſe of Public Liberty were not endangered. This was always made by him the eſſential condition of his converſion, or rather change of conduct; for ſince the ranks, dignities and powers,

powers, which had been the objects of his ambition or of his envy, were annihilated, *Mirabeau* had ceaſed to be a Democrat. His democracy, like that of many others, conſiſted in lowering to his own level thoſe who were above him, but not in raiſing to it thoſe who were below him. He wiſhed a Monarchy, and had he been made the Miniſter of one, he would ſoon have rendered it deſpotic. Be that as it may, their Majeſties convinced that the talents, popularity, and energy of *Mirabeau* might ſave the State if he were willing to devote himſelf ſincerely to it, charged the Count *de L.* to ſound his real inclinations, which were found to be as favourable as could be deſired. *Mirabeau* recollected the conference which he had had with *M. Malouet* in the month of May 1789, and threw upon the refuſal of his firſt offers the blame of all the miſconduct for which he was condemned, and which, he ſaid, had led him much farther than he wiſhed. He wrote a very eloquent and circumſtantial letter to the King, in which he frankly confeſſed his errors, but without acknowledging his crimes. He ſpoke of new dangers, expatiated on the neceſſity of preventing them, and offered to point out the means. "But above all," ſaid he

he in this letter, "ſecure the true rights of "the Nation, eſpecially its liberty, and you "will not want zealous ſervants to defend "the intereſts of your Crown, and thoſe of "your ſacred perſon. From this inſtant I "thoroughly devote myſelf to your Majeſty's "ſervice; but I entreat you never to judge "of my ſentiments or intentions by the opi-"nions of the moment, which I ſhall often "be obliged to ſupport in order to preſerve a "popularity, of which I ought to be care-"ful for the intereſt of the King, and which "I am anxious to render ſerviceable to him "alone. The ſame motive may alſo ſome-"times compel me to oppoſe your deſires, "but I beſeech your Majeſty to deign to "confide in my fidelity; it is not to be "ſhaken, and I dare promiſe you that in one "year from this time the Royal Authority "ſhall be firmly re-eſtabliſhed on its true "baſis, and to ſuch a degree, as ſhall en-"able the King always to do freely the "good his heart deſires."

The King and Queen were very well ſatisfied with this letter, and charged *M. de Montmorin* to confer with *Mirabeau* concerning his plans, and to aſſure him that his Majeſty not only would never retract the en-

gagements which he had entered into, or the principles which he had avowed at the opening of the States-General; but that it had even always been his deſire that the wiſhes expreſſed in the majority of the inſtructions to the Deputies ſhould ſerve as the baſis to the Conſtitution; and that his opinion was, that all that exceeded that meaſure was ſtill more prejudicial to the people than to the Royal Authority.

Theſe aſſurances, entirely conformable to the ideas of *Mirabeau*, and as poſitive as he could wiſh, were inſerted in a letter which the King wrote to *M. de Montmorin*, and which he authoriſed him to communicate to *Mirabeau*.

" This letter is perfectly ſufficient," ſaid he, after having read it:—" With ſo formal " a pledge of the King's intentions, we may " hope to put an end to the Revolution. Be- " lieve me, Sir, and pray inform their Ma- " jeſties that I will henceforth employ all " my influence, and all the means in my " power for that purpoſe."

This converſation took place in the latter end of January 1791. It was at that period that *Mirabeau* compoſed the famous memorial, which was ſo much talked of, without being

being known; for it was ſeen by few, and of thoſe the three to whom I have referred are perhaps the only ones now living.

The firſt part of this memorial was a ſtatement of the cauſes of the Revolution, and of the incidents which had given it an atrocious character. *Mirabeau* ſpoke with indignation of the compoſition of the Aſſembly, of the factions which divided the popular party, and of the faults of all the parties. He unveiled the projects of the Jacobins, their tendency to republicaniſm, to the annihilation of Religion and all ſocial inſtitutions, and to the ſubverſion of all property; and he declared that from the firſt the want of addreſs and inconſiderate reſiſtance of the Ariſtocracy having entirely diſcredited the moderate men of that party, and conſolidated the enormous power of the popular one, he had found it abſolutely neceſſary to join the latter, in order hereafter to do ſome good, and in the mean time to prevent much miſchief; and that to keep up his credit with this party, he had often been forced to yield to exaggerations, and even to extravagancies. In this manner did he juſtify the part which he had acted during the two firſt years.

His means were, 1ſt, The diſſolution of

the National Aſſembly, and the calling a new one at the requeſt of the Provinces upon other grounds, and principally upon that of property.

2dly, A plan of Conſtitution, drawn up according to the wiſh of the majority of the inſtructions, and ſanctioned by the King.

To inſure the ſucceſs of theſe means, he propoſed, 1ſt, A coalition in the Aſſembly between the moſt prudent of the Royaliſts and the beſt of the *Coté-Gauche*. 2dly, A diſtribution of periodical papers in the capital, and in the provinces, to open the eyes of the people reſpecting the projects and manœuvres of the Factious, who were miſleading them, and to ſhow the fatal conſequences which muſt reſult from them. 3dly, To ſend into the 83 Departments well-choſen Commiſſioners, oſtenſibly charged with the demarcation of the limits of the diſtricts and cantons, and whoſe ſecret miſſion ſhould be to procure uniform addreſſes for the calling of a new Aſſembly, and for the adoption of the conſtitutional grounds which ſhould be propoſed by the King.

Reſpecting theſe important facts, and this period, I have no original papers to cite: I have only the notes which I preſerved concerning

cerning them. But theſe are exact, and I was ſo ſtruck, ſo occupied at the time with all the circumſtances, that I dare to warrant the accuracy of my memory; declaring, nevertheleſs, that there are many omiſſions in my narrative, and that it gives but a general idea of *Mirabeau's* plan. This plan, profoundly conſidered, was ſtated in a memorial of about two hundred pages, of which the ſtyle, replete with eloquence and energy, was its leaſt merit.

One of the moſt pointed paſſages of this work was the ſketch of the general diſorganization of ſociety, of which the foundations, the religious and political principles were diſſolved. *Mirabeau*, who had ſo greatly contributed to this ſubverſion, appeared more alarmed at it than any body. "I had not a doubt," ſaid he, "when I "propoſed the conſtitutional oath for the "Prieſts, that the people would declare for "them againſt us. This was perhaps the "only trial to be made to aſcertain what "moral ſpring remained in the Nation; but "there is no longer a hold on that ſide: "happily they are ſtill attached through "taſte and habit to the Monarchical Govern-"ment. We muſt make haſte to ſave the

" wrecks of it, before they are completely " diſperſed."

The King was extremely aſtoniſhed on the reading of this memorial; he could not conceive that he who ſpoke thus of the Revolution had ſo long been the moſt formidable revolutioniſt.—" If *Mirabeau* is in earneſt," ſaid his Majeſty to *M. de Montmorin*, " he " may doubtleſs repair a part of the miſchief " he has done; nevertheleſs I will not en- " gage myſelf in any proceeding which may " produce a civil war. This memorial " ought to be maturely conſidered. Endea- " vour to collect the opinions of the moſt " ſenſible men in the Aſſembly, and inquire " which of them *Mirabeau* is diſpoſed to " open his mind to."

L. D. M. being very intimate with the Count *de L.* had already been informed, with *Mirabeau's* conſent, of the memorial in queſtion, and it was from him that *M. de Montmorin* learnt on this occaſion that, as *M. Malouet* was the only Deputy of the *Coté-Droit* to whom *Mirabeau* had ever, from the commencement of the Aſſembly, made propoſals ſimilar to his preſent intentions, the latter particularly deſired to have a new explanation with him on the ſubject.

It

" It was agreed that this explanation ſhould take place at *M. de Montmorin's*, and in his preſence, ſhould *M. Malouet* conſent to meet *Mirabeau* there, which was the more uncertain, as they had not ſpoken to each other ſince the month of June 1789.

On the 1ſt of February, at the Evening Sitting, *Mirabeau* having incorrectly ſtated, and turned into an amendment ſome obſervations made by *M. Malouet* upon a report of *Barnave*, relative to ſending Commiſſioners to the Colonies, a ſlight altercation as to form took place between them, in which *Mirabeau* ſpoke with a little pedantry, and *M. Malouet* with a degree of ill-humour. The debate was cloſed, and all the articles of the Decree propoſed by the reporter were adopted. After which *Mirabeau* took up a pen and wrote a note, which he ſent unſealed to *M. Malouet* by one of the meſſengers, whom he called to him, and in the preſence of the ſecretaries who were by him. *M. Malouet*, who had not been appriſed of any thing, was very much aſtoniſhed at this meſſage. He made no more myſtery in reading the note than *Mirabeau* had done in ſending it, and permitted *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* and

M. de Virieux, who were ſitting by him, to read it with him.

This note ran thus: "I am more of your "opinion than you think, and whatever may "be your ſentiments with reſpect to me, "mine have never varied reſpecting you. It "is time that men of ſenſe ſhould unite, "and underſtand each other. Would you "have any objection to meet me at one of "your friends—at *M. de Montmorin's?* "Appoint the day, but let it be after the "Evening Sitting."

M. Malouet anſwered upon a card: *With all my heart. Thurſday at ten in the evening.* He ſuſpected, as did his two friends, that *Mirabeau* had ſome ſecret underſtanding with the Palace. His conduct in the Aſſembly for more than a month paſt left no doubt of his having ſome grand project; but the Count *de Virieux*, who was a very religious man, deteſted *Mirabeau* on account of his immorality, and repelled the idea of having any intercourſe with him. *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre*, on the contrary, was rejoiced at this reconciliation, and conceived great hopes from it. *M. Malouet* made them promiſe the greateſt ſecrecy reſpecting

ſpecting the conference he was to have at *M. de Montmorin's*, and ſaid he would inform them of the reſult. He went the next day to the Miniſter's, who, for the firſt time, entruſted him with the circumſtances which I have already mentioned, relative to the converſion of *Mirabeau*, and gave him his memorial, adviſing him to read it before the meeting, which was to take place the following day.

This pathetic expoſition of all the crimes of the Revolution, and their dreadful conſequences, drawn by the hand of *Mirabeau*, which *M. Malouet* thought he ſtill ſaw ſtained with the blood of the victims of the Revolution, made the moſt lively impreſſion upon him. "This man," ſaid he to me, "is maſter of all ſtyles, and may be fit to "act all characters. *Fenelon*, *Machiavel*, "*Rouſſeau*, and the Abbé *Maury* might all "of them find their maxims in his work, and "yet there is a conſiſtency in his views; "but I am not entirely ſatisfied with his "means."

On the next day, *M. Malouet* and *Mirabeau* met at *M. de Montmorin's* at the appointed hour. *Mirabeau* opened the conference with a long apologetic detail of his whole

whole revolutionary conduct. It was difficult to reconcile this apology with the opinions he had hitherto profeſſed, and *M. Malouet* ſeveral times mentioned it to him. "My "principal opinions," anſwered *Mirabeau*, "may all be applied to the true principles "and intereſts of the Monarchy. I cer- "tainly do not mean to juſtify extravagant "meaſures, which it was neceſſary to ſup- "port, that I might not have the mob "againſt me; nor violent commotions which "were deſignedly excited, and which have "often rendered me more miſchievous than "I wiſhed to be. Recollect what happened "to me when the Hotel de Caſtries was ſet "on fire.—There lies the ſecret of many of "my motions."

The diſcuſſion of the plan, and the means of putting it into execution, being the chief object of this conference, engaged *M. Malouet's* whole attention. He did not think that the diſſolution of the Aſſembly could be effected eaſily, and without commotion.— "Perhaps it might be eaſier," ſaid he to *Mirabeau*, "to bring back the majority of "them to ſalutary views, and to amend- "ments, which would ſecure the Royal "Authority, and give energy to the Go- "vernment.

"vernment. I ſee but one expedient to "this effect, which enters into the ſpirit "of your plan, and which alone can pro- "duce the moſt ſalutary effects. You "allow that the Decree which annuls our "mandates has rendered the Aſſembly de- "ſpotic by permitting them to dare every "thing. I do not diſpute the inconveni- "ence of confining each deputation by an "imperative mandate; but the Nation in "all its ſubdiviſions having thus explained "its will freely and legally at a time when "it was indiſputable that the love of liberty "reigned in every heart, I know not any "human power that has a right to deſtroy "it. Your friend, the Biſhop of *Autun*, "by his motion reſpecting the mandates, "and by the ſucceſs which it obtained, has "committed an unpardonable fault, and it "has been the ſource of every miſchief. In "future imperative mandates might have "been forbidden: in fact, I well know that "the repreſentative ſyſtem in its plenitude "will not allow of ſuch, and that they are "proſcribed in England. There the people "give no mandates, and if any Conſtituents "were to give them to their Repreſenta- "tives, the Parliament would have a right

"to

" to annul them; but that would not be
" the caſe if the whole nation had ex-
" plained itſelf by mandates, if that had al-
" ways been the cuſtom, and if its intention
" was thus to leave to the Sovereign the
" neceſſary right of reconciling and rectify-
" ing what might be inconſiſtent in the
" different mandates. Now the hiſtory of
" our States-General contains no precedent
" but of a delegation thus circumſcribed.
" Such was ours, and by declaring it unli-
" mited we have in reality committed trea-
" ſon againſt the Nation. Do we not ſay
" every day that we are ſent to ſettle the
" Conſtitution; that ſuch is the view of
" our mandates; how then can we deſtroy
" that which they order us to reſpect?
" Never was national will more legally or
" more ſolemnly declared. Every thing
" was foreſeen, detailed, and explained in
" the majority of the inſtructions; and at
" whatever period we ſeek to put an end to
" the Revolution, if we would diſengage our-
" ſelves from it, if we hope a rational iſſue
" to this terrible confuſion, it is in that
" public and undeniable depoſit of all the
" opinions and wiſhes of the whole of
" France that it muſt be ſought. Now,

" with

" with your good intentions and influence, " what may we hope from you in effecting " a repeal of the Decree which annulled our " mandates, and in replacing the Aſſembly " under the obligations which they impoſe " upon us? For except by that I have no idea " of the poſſibility of a ſolid and legal Coun- " ter-Revolution."

M. de Montmorin ſupported this opinion as being alſo that of the King. " I never " perceived," ſaid he, " that his Majeſty " varied on this point: his intention, his " unſhaken reſolution, has ever been to yield " to every legal wiſh of the Nation." *Mirabeau* ſtrenuouſly defended the opinion of the Biſhop of *Autun*: he contended that the unfettering of the mandates was an indiſpenſable preliminary in the Conſtitution; that various and imperative inſtructions would inceſſantly ſhackle all deliberation whatſoever; that if this obſtacle had not been removed, the want of power and the abſolute nullity to which the Aſſembly would have been reduced, would have compelled them to ſeparate without having done any thing. However, as *M. de Montmorin* and *M. Malouet* always brought him back to the exiſting ſtate of things, and to the evil already done

done by this conſtituent omnipotence, he agreed that *M. Malouet's* objections and propoſitions deſerved the moſt ſerious conſideration, and that it was neceſſary to attend to them: he ſaid that he would himſelf talk the matter over with his friends, and that it was a further motive for endeavouring to produce the projected coalition in the Aſſembly; that it was neceſſary to aſſemble fifteen Deputies choſen from the *Coté-Droit*, and as many from the *Coté-Gauche*, to ſettle definitively a plan of conduct; that in the meanwhile, and as ſoon as his office of Preſident was at an end, he would on the firſt occaſion make a motion concerning the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, in which he would aſſert his principles and his determined ſeparation from all the factions.

M. de Montmorin and *M. Malouet* both wrote what had paſſed in this conference in order to lay it before the King; and as theſe two writings were communicated to me at the time, the reader will not be aſtoniſhed at the preciſe manner in which I have here related the converſation, and which, previous to publiſhing it, I have communicated to *M. Malouet*.

Mirabeau, who even before the opening of

of the States-General had ſettled his place at the head of the moſt violent factions, was alſo initiated into the ſecret of the ſecondary ones, who, with plans leſs extenſive and a conduct more timid, did not the leſs concur to ſtrengthen and accelerate the Revolution. All theſe myſteries, the knowledge of which afforded a key to many important events hitherto attributed to chance, were diſcloſed not only to *M. de Montmorin*, but alſo to the King and Queen in many ſecret converſations which their Majeſties had with *Mirabeau*. He informed them amongſt other things, that the ſyſtem of terror which really effected the Revolution, and which had not ſince been abandoned, originated in the philanthropic faction, the Committee of which was held ſometimes at the Duke *de la Rochefoucault's*, and ſometimes at the Duke *d'Aumont's* villa near Verſailles. At the period of the union of the orders theſe philoſophic revolutioniſts, who at firſt intended only reforms, were as much embarraſſed as aſtoniſhed, at the rapidity of their ſucceſs; they found themſelves engaged in a great Revolution of which they had not conceived an idea, and before which their petty projects were but inſignificant fooleries. The enterprize

prize frightened them: all the powers and authorities were at their diſcretion. They neither knew what to take from the King nor what to leave him, nor what government to eſtabliſh; they feared the reſiſtance of the Princes, the oppoſition of the two firſt orders, and the ſuccours with which foreign Powers might furniſh the King. *Adrien du Port*, who, of all the Members of the Aſſembly, was perhaps the man who had the moſt ſtudied the hiſtory and the tactics of all Revolutions ancient and modern, was admitted into the moſt ſecret conventicles of this philoſophic faction, and was employed to digeſt the plans. He read on this occaſion a memorial in which he drew the characters, and diſcuſſed the intereſts of all the Sovereigns of Europe, in ſuch a manner as to conclude that none of them would interfere in the leaſt in the Revolution about to take place in France, and of which it was as neceſſary as urgent to regulate the courſe and determine the end by a plan wiſely combined. He then propoſed that which he ſaid had been long the object of his meditations. Its principal grounds were the ſame as thoſe which were adopted in the Conſtitution of 1791. After long diſcuſſions upon

this memorial *M. de la Fayette*, who was alſo preſent at that Committee, if we may believe *Mirabeau*, roſe and ſaid to *Adrien du Port*, "Doubtleſs this is a very grand "plan, but what are your means of putting "it in execution? Do you know ſuch as "are capable of overcoming all the reſiſt-"ances which are to be expected? You have "not pointed out any."—"It is true that I "have not yet ſpoken of any," replied *Adrien du Port* with a deep ſigh; "I have "reflected much upon the ſubject; I know "ſure ones, but they are of ſuch a nature "that I ſhudder myſelf to think of them, "and I cannot reſolve to diſcloſe them to "you till you approve the whole of my "plan, till you are fully convinced that it "is indiſpenſable to adopt it, and that no "other can be followed to ſecure not only "the ſucceſs of the Revolution, but the "ſafety of the State."

After the Committee, whoſe curioſity he had thus excited, had given him all the aſſurances and all the praiſes he wiſhed, he ſtill feigned a reluctance to explain himſelf. "I ſhall never dare," replied he in the moſt hypocritical tone, "to propoſe means "which will ſhock your humanity. Alas!

" they torture my own feelings, yet if you " abſolutely require it."—" Yes, yes, we do " require it," anſwered his hearers.—" Well, " Gentlemen, I will obey you. To judge " of the means I am going to mention, you " muſt not loſe ſight for a ſingle inſtant of " the dreadful ſituation in which we ſtand. " Unforeſeen events have plunged us in " ſpite of ourſelves into a Revolution which " will produce the greateſt calamities, the " greateſt crimes, and which will involve " us all, if we do not haſten to make our- " ſelves maſters of it in order to moderate " and circumſcribe it; it is too far ad- " vanced for us to make it recede. Beſides, " it would be perhaps loſing for ever the " opportunity of effecting the moſt advan- " tageous reforms. Now it is only by the " means of terror that men place themſelves " at the head of a Revolution ſo as to " govern it. There has not been a ſingle " one in any country whatever which I " could not cite in ſupport of this truth. " We muſt then, whatever repugnance we " may feel to it, conſent to the ſacrifice " of ſome marked perſons." He convinced them preſently that *M. Foulon* muſt naturally be the firſt victim; " becauſe

" for

" for ſome time paſt," ſaid he, " he has " been much ſpoken of for the office of " Miniſter of the Finances, and every body " thinks that his firſt meaſure would be. " *bankruptcy.*" He next pointed out the Intendant of Paris, " There is a general " cry," ſaid he, " againſt the Intendants; " they have it in their power to fetter the " Revolution in the provinces. *M. Ber-* " *thier* is generally deteſted; there is no " preventing his being maſſacred: his fate " will intimidate the other Intendants; they " will be as pliable as gloves."

The Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, a philanthropiſt through inclination more than vanity, a man without talents, but not without ſome information, always wiſhing to do good from principle without being capable of doing it, and ever yielding to evil from a weak and complying temper, from an abſolute want of all kind of energy, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, I ſay, was very much ſtruck with the obſervations of *Adrien du Port*, and with all the other Members of the Committee, decided upon adopting the plan and the means of execution propoſed by him. Inſtructions conformable to this plan were given to the principal agents of the depart-

ment of inſurrection which was already organized, and to which *Adrien du Port* was no ſtranger: execution followed cloſe. The maſſacre of *de Launay*, *de Fleſſelles*, *Foulon*, and *Berthier*, and the carrying of their heads about on pikes were the firſt effects of this *philanthropic* conſpiracy. Its ſucceſs ſoon rallied and kept together for a long time the different revolutionary parties, who were beginning to diſtruſt each other, but who ſeeing all the obſtacles removed by this horrible meaſure, united to gather the fruits of it. In ſupport of this account I can refer to no other proof or authority than the avowal made to the King and to *M. de Montmorin* by *Mirabeau*, who related this anecdote to other perſons, and particularly to the Preſident *de Frondeville*.

What I have ſaid of *Mirabeau's* plan and of his return to Monarchial Principles is enough to account for the change remarked in his conduct from the end of the month of December preceding. It is not leſs intereſting to know the manner in which he filled the new character which he had aſſumed. He had been ambitious to be Preſident in order to turn to the advantage of his popularity, all

the conſideration he might acquire by ſhewing himſelf as able to occupy the Chair as to ſhine in the Tribune. In fact, no perſon preſided with more dignity, or gave better proofs than himſelf that the Preſident was not ſolely the organ of the Aſſembly, but that he ought to be and could be its moderator. His anſwers to the different Deputations that appeared in the Aſſembly all bore the genuine ſtamp of eloquence and wiſdom. He always ſpoke as a Revolutioniſt; but his language, ably ſeaſoned with patriotiſm, contained only the exact doſe neceſſary to preſerve his popularity. The moſt inſipid and frequently ridiculous harangues of the Deputations always ſuggeſted to him ſome brilliant thoughts, ſome poignant ſtrokes, which forced his enemies as well as his friends to applaud and admire him, the one as a God, the other as a Devil. The firſt Deputation that preſented themſelves while he was Preſident was that of ſome muſicians and lyric authors, who came to the Aſſembly to requeſt permiſſion to propoſe a plan relative to the regulation of their profeſſion. *Mirabeau* made them the following anſwer:

"The fine arts are all public property;

they are all connected with the manners of the citizens, and with the general education which improves the aſſociation of men into a rational unity. Muſic has long led armies to victory; from camps it paſſed to temples, from temples to the palaces of Kings, from palaces to our theatres, from our theatres to our civic feſtivals, and perhaps it beſtows on the firſt laws of new Communities all the empire they poſſeſs. This art, founded on the regularity of the motions perceptible in all the parts of the creation, but particularly in animated beings, among whom every thing is executed with rhythm, and whoſe inclination to melody appears in all their taſtes, this art is but an imitation of the harmony of nature, and when it unfolds the paſſions it imitates the human heart, which the Legiſlature ought alſo to ſtudy in this point of view; for there, no doubt, are found the motives of all ſocial inſtitutions."

A Deputation of the Municipality of Paris having come to the Aſſembly to ſtate the diſtreſs and abſolute penury to which their finances were reduced by the immenſe expences they had entered into for the Revolution, *Mirabeau* very dexterouſly introduced into his anſwer an expreſſion which, with-

without betraying his preſent projects might be of uſe in preparing the minds of men for them. A few plaudits might ſuffice to produce that effect, and to obtain them *Mirabeau* had only to deſire them; he excited very lively ones when he addreſſed the following remarkable words to the Deputation of the Municipality: "Do not be alarmed at the weight of your debts; it is an advance you have made to liberty. You have ſown on a fertile ſoil, which will make you an ample return of all the wealth you have confided to it. One ſource of proſperity, and one only, is yet wanting for the capital; that is, the union of its citizens, and, above all, public tranquillity, which is inceſſantly diſturbed by falſe alarms, and which a number of intriguing and ambitious men take upon them to endanger that they may have an opportunity of ſtanding forth as moderators. This is the deſpotiſm of vice; that deſpotiſm is it then the only one which the city of Paris could not overthrow?"

It was remarked that the Deputations were much more frequent while *Mirabeau* was Preſident than they had been under his predeceſſors. He never put any of them off; but it was not merely to increaſe his popu-

larity, or diſplay his talents that he admitted ſo many; it was alſo to conſume the time of the Aſſembly, and that he might avoid bringing on any important queſtion in which the part of a Speaker would be more deſirable than that of Preſident.

The laſt day he occupied the Chair, a Deputation of the Commune of Paris appeared, and informed the Aſſembly of the uneaſineſs and agitation excited in the capital by the intended departure of the King's aunts (*Meſdames*) for Italy, which had been officially announced by *M de Leſſart*, as fixed for ſome day between the 15th and 25th of February. The object of this Deputation was to demand *a law to ſettle the particular mode of exiſtence of the reigning family and all its branches**. The Speaker, after declaiming moſt violently againſt the Emigrants, concludes his harangue thus:

"Think of the King, who is a model for all the kings of the earth; who, with a powerful hand, broke the chains of America, and who has allowed all nations the free and peaceful navigation of the ocean—

* The words of this demand in the original are, *une loi qui fixat le mode particulier d'exiſtence de la Dinaſtie Regnante.*

that

that king, the friend of your decrees, does not think himſelf at liberty to detain his family. Will you ſuffer his heart to be a prey to fears while waiting for your law? Will you ſuffer the affections due to him to be withdrawn, and let him be puniſhed for rendering us happy?"

This ſtep of the Commune's placed *Mirabeau* between two rocks, that of endangering his popularity, and that of giving the King room to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his converſion. He very adroitly avoided both by his anſwer to the Deputation: "What you have now propoſed to the Conſtituent Body," ſaid he, "is one of the moſt important queſtions which they have to take under their conſideration. To be independent of every other power but that of the laws is the right of every citizen, becauſe that independence conſtitutes the very liberty of a nation. Whoever has the right of reſiſting ought to know where the duty of obedience terminates. To this principle we all owe our ſafety. But there may doubtleſs be exceptions to the moſt general rules. The Royal Family are inſeparable from the Throne, and were the Members of that Family to dare to oppoſe the laws, they might perhaps be eaſily ruled by their

their Chief, who, by tranſmitting great hopes to them, has a right to impoſe upon them great duties. Fear not that the Monarch who repairs the errors of Kings can be forſaken, be the conduct of thoſe about him what it may. A great nation is become his family. His name, joined with that of the Nation and of the Law, is pronounced in all our oaths, and a laſting order will proclaim at once his happineſs and his power."

Still, however, the intended journey of the King's Aunts continued the ſubject of diſcuſſion in the Jacobin Club, and of the motions and vociferations of the *Palais-Royal* groups. The fermentation of the populace and workmen of the Fauxbourgs ſoon became ſo violent as to make them adopt the reſolution, which they did on the 19th of February, of ſending a deputation, or rather mob, on the next day to *Bellevue*, to extort a promiſe from the Princeſſes that they would not leave the kingdom. They were fortunately informed of this immediately, and ſet out that very night at ten o'clock.

This news occaſioned great agitation in the capital. *Barnave* made uſe of the opportunity to inſiſt with the greateſt inſolence upon the Aſſembly's immediately taking into conſideration

conſideration a law to determine the particular obligations of the Members of the Royal Family. "It is already rumoured," ſaid he, "that another perſon, whoſe conduct might lead to the moſt ſerious conſequences, is preparing to follow the example of the King's Aunts. Let the grounds for theſe reports be what they may, the citizens are alarmed at them, and the public tranquillity may be diſturbed. Surely at a critical moment when the Nation, experiencing a Revolution which is to regenerate it, calls for the aſſiſtance of all who are intruſted in maintaining its glory and proſperity, it is aſtoniſhing that the Members of a Family which it has loaded with kindneſs ſhould almoſt all forſake the public cauſe, and give you grounds to conſider them as amongſt the moſt dangerous adverſaries of the Conſtitution it has choſen. It is time to declare the duties of thoſe, of whom we have hitherto only declared the honours and the emoluments. We ſhould now know what engagements are to correſpond to that which ſettles in a family the ſupreme honours and ſole hereditary magiſtracy, and whether the ſtripping us at home, the carrying of our caſh abroad at a moment of the moſt preſſing need, uneaſi-

neſs

neſs fomented and kept up amongſt the citizens, the encouragement of the public enemies, and the prolongation of their reſiſtance, will for ever be their work, and the only teſtimony of confidence we can obtain from them."

This motion, ſupported by ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, produced a great agitation in the Aſſembly, and was followed by a Decree, by which the Committee of the Conſtitution were charged to preſent without delay a plan for a Decree on the obligations which ought to be laid upon the Members of the reigning Family, and at the ſame time to take into conſideration whether, at critical junctures, the citizens may be prevented from leaving the kingdom.

At this moment of effervescence, letters were received from the Department of the Gard, informing the Aſſembly that the moſt alarming counter-revolutionary commotions had broken out in the town and dioceſe of Uzés; that 1700 rebels had made themſelves maſters of the town of *St. Ambroix*, and had diſarmed all the citizens; that the National Guards of Jalés, Banes, Berias, and other places, had joined to ſupport the rebellion; that an army of 30,000 men threatened

ened the Department; that at Uzés a ſquadron of the regiment of Loraine having been called upon to mount their horſes to diſperſe a mob, which had gathered at the ſound of the alarm-bell on the Eſplanade, the mutineers had fired upon the troop; that one of the dragoons had had his ſhoulder broken, and that another had been run through the body with a bayonet. The Reporter *(Vouland)* imputed theſe troubles to the inflammatory writings ſent from Paris, and chiefly to a letter written by *M. de Bethizy*, Biſhop of Uzés, to his Grand Vicars, who had circulated it profuſely *. This lettter, written immediately after the famous Sitting of the 4th of January, gave an exact account of the moſt intereſting particulars. The Deputy who denounced it having ſaid that he had a copy of it, ſeveral Members deſired that it might be read. Every ſentence of it was followed by applauſe, and the words *That is true, that is true*, were repeatedly heard. Theſe atteſtations and applauſes, which came from the *Coté-Droit*, embarraſſed as well as provoked the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, and enraged the patriots of the Galleries.

* Appendix, No. xiv.

Out

Out of doors, and among the groups, they talked of cutting off the Biſhop of *Uzés's* head, and of hanging him at the lantern. It was fortunate for him that he had ſtaid at home that day; for had he been in the Aſſembly, he certainly could not have left it without great danger. The patriots in their ſtupid rage had abſolutely reſolved to pillage or burn the *Hotel d'Uzés*, ſuppoſing it to be an appertenance of the Biſhopric, and it was with difficulty they were made to underſtand that the Duke *d'Uzés* and the Biſhop *d'Uzés* were not the ſame perſon. As to the Aſſembly, they contented themſelves with decreeing that a ſufficient force ſhould be ſent without delay into the Department of the Gard to reſtore order, and that all the papers relative to this affair ſhould be ſent to the Committee of Inquiry to make a report of them the next day at the opening of the Sitting. In this report no mention was made of the Biſhop of *Uzés*, nor of his letter. The Committee only propoſed to ſend with the troops five Commiſſioners, to be appointed by the King, and authoriſed to concert with the Magiſtrates of the Department of the Gard, and of the neighbouring Departments, to take whatever meaſures they ſhould judge

judge proper to ſuppreſs diſorder, and inſure the execution of the laws.

On the day that this Decree was paſſed, it was rumoured that MONSIEUR, the King's Brother, alſo intended to leave Paris, accompanied by MADAME. It was to this Prince *Barnave* alluded in his motion. An immenſe mob, chiefly compoſed of women, ſet out for the Luxemburg, and a large detachment of them, after ſome ſlight reſiſtance, made their way into the Palace, and were introduced into MONSIEUR's apartments, where they expreſſed the uneaſineſs of the people, and ſolicited him not to go away. MONSIEUR declared to them that it never had been his intention to ſeparate himſelf from the King, and that he never would quit his Majeſty. So ſolemn an aſſurance excited the livelieſt acclamations of joy; and MONSIEUR immediately ſetting out with MADAME to go to the Tuileries, was accompanied thither by the whole mob.

While the courts and garden of the Tuileries reſounded with the ſhouts of the multitude, and the National Guards were marching by companies to the Palace to keep the peace, a letter from the Municipal Officers of Moret, a little borough a few miles beyond

yond Fontainebleau, was received by the Aſſembly, informing them that the King's Aunts having arrived there on the 20th, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, the Municipality had called upon the National Guards to prevent their proceeding without paſſports, and had ordered the gates of the town to be ſhut; but that thirty-three dragoons or chaſſeurs of the regiment of Loraine, who attended their Royal Highneſſes, having rode to the gates ſword in hand, had cauſed them to be opened while the paſſports were examined, and that *Meſdames* had continued their journey. The paſſports counter-ſigned by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, and the troopers acting without a requiſition, were conſidered by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* as manifeſt violations of the Conſtitution. They moved that the letter, or minute of the Municipality of Moret ſhould be referred to the Military Committee, and to the Committees of the Conſtitution and of Inquiry, in order that an account of it might be immediately laid before the Aſſembly, which was accordingly decreed. *Chapelier* then made a report in the name of the Committee of the Conſtitution relative to the particular obligations of the Royal Family, and propoſed

propoſed a plan for a Decree. The Aſſembly ordered them both to be printed, and adjourned the debate.

In the next Sitting the Aſſembly received a letter from the Miniſter of War, in which he declared that he had given no orders to the Chaſſeurs of Loraine*, and that he had no part in their conduct at Morel. It was obſerved that it was not probable that thoſe ſoldiers would have marched without orders; that the officer, whoever he was who had given that order, was guilty, and that he was the perſon to be enquired for. It was accordingly moved to refer the Miniſter's letter to the Committee of Inquiry. *Mirabeau* contended that the reference already made of this buſineſs to the three united Committees was ſufficient to authoriſe them to inquire by whom the order in queſtion was given. "There is no need for an order on ſuch occaſions," cried *M. de Montloſier*. "I am convinced that every brave ſoldier attached to the King and Royal Family would be eager to ſhow marks of reſpect and fidelity

* They were not the Chaſſeurs of Loraine, but thoſe of Hainaut, who eſcorted the King's Aunts to Morel, and who cauſed the gates of the town to be opened for them.

to his Majeſty's Aunts. I therefore move the previous queſtion; and if that be not agreed to, I ſhall move a vote of thanks and eſteem to the troops of the line."—*Such is the character of the* FRENCH CHEVALIERS; but as unfortunately they had not the majority in the Aſſembly, the motion for the order of the day made by *Mirabeau* was carried.

This had ſcarcely taken place when the Preſident read a letter to the Aſſembly which he had juſt received from *M. de Leſſart*, accompanied with a minute of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, where the King's Aunts were ſtopped by the people, and with a letter from their Royal Highneſſes addreſſed to the Preſident of the Aſſembly. The ſubſtance of the Miniſter's letter was, that the King conſidered the obſtacles experienced by his Aunts as an infringement on the liberty of citizens; and as it was his Majeſty's part to protect equally the liberty of all, he deſired that the National Aſſembly would remove the doubts upon which the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc had proceeded.

The letter from the King's Aunts expreſſed the ſame deſire, but in terms ſo conſtitutional, that it was not doubted that in writing

it

it they had ſuffered themſelves to be guided by the advice of Count *Louis de Narbonne, Chevalier d'Honneur* to Madame *Adelaïde*. It was even generally thought that his ſtyle appeared in the following paſſage: *Being according to the law only citizens, and wiſhing to be conſidered only as ſuch, we did not think it right to pretend to any kind of diſtinction. But the title of citizens gives us the right of all citizens, which we claim with the whole force of liberty, and with confidence in the juſtice of the Aſſembly.*

It appeared by the minute that the Municipality having examined their Royal Highneſſes' paſſports, had agreed that they might continue their journey; but that the people had collected and oppoſed it, declaring that they would inveſtigate the buſineſs; that in conſequence the Municipality, with the addition of 138 of the inhabitants, had taken the matter into conſideration, and had reſolved that it ſhould be referred to the Department; and that in the mean time, inſtead of giving their Royal Highneſſes the poſt-horſes they required, they ſhould have a guard for their ſafety, and to prevent their being moleſted.

The reading of this was followed by long debates. The Abbé *Maury* ſtrongly inſiſted on the neceſſity of ſolemnly diſapproving the anti-conſtitutional inſurrection of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, which was alſo the opinion of ſome Members of the *Coté-Gauche*. *Mirabeau* propoſed the following Decree: "The National Aſſembly, conſidering that there was no law of the kingdom by which the King's Aunts were reſtrained from the freedom of travelling, declare that there are no grounds to deliberate upon the minute of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, and refer the buſineſs to the Executive Power."

The majority of the *Coté-Gauche* broke out into the moſt violent murmurs, and appealed to the ſupreme law of the ſafety of the people againſt the journey of the King's Aunts. "The ſafety of the people," replied *Mirabeau* haughtily, "is above all things concerned in there being no ſtruggling for opinions when the public welfare requires a perfect unity of actions and will. The public ſafety is not concerned about the ſleeping of the King's Aunts three or four days more or leſs upon the road. Their journey is perhaps impru-

dent, impolitic, but is no breach of the law."

Alexander Lameth, ſeconded by his brother and *Barnave*, propoſed ſeveral times that without permitting any obſtacle to be given to the journey of the King's Aunts, the Preſident ſhould be charged to entreat his Majeſty to weigh it in his mind whether he ought, under the preſent circumſtances, to permit his Aunts to leave the kingdom.

"Europe will be very much aſtoniſhed," ſaid *M. Menou* facetiouſly, "to hear that the National Aſſembly ſpent four hours in diſcuſſing the departure of two ladies, who prefer hearing maſs at Rome to hearing it at Paris." This obſervation was extremely applauded, and gained the majority of the Aſſembly for the Decree moved by *Mirabeau*.

The Jacobins did not ſubmit to be overcome. In the evening their agents collected an immenſe mob, whom they led to the Tuileries, to demand from the King himſelf an order to prevent his Aunts from effecting their purpoſe of leaving France. On the approach of this multitude, the iron gates and the doors of the palace were ſhut. The Mayor and Municipal Officers attended, and

exhauſted their eloquence in vain to prevail upon the populace to diſperſe. At ſix o'clock the crowd in the garden being conſiderably increaſed, a numerous detachment of the National Guard was marched in, who dividing the mob, and preſſing them towards the different outlets, ſucceeded in clearing the garden. At eight all was nearly quiet, but the ſtreets were lighted up the whole night through.

There is yet to be added to the ſcandals of this day the pretended conſecration of the would-be Conſtitutional Biſhops of the Departments of Finiſterre and Laiſne (the Abbés *Expilly* and *Marolles)*. This ſacrilegious act was conſummated in the chapel of the Oratoire by the Biſhop of *Autun*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops, *in partibus*, of *Lydda* and *Babilone*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Report of the Committee of Conſtitution on the Obligations of the Members of the Reigning Family, and of the Public Functionaries—This Appellation given to the King, ſtrongly oppoſed in the Aſſembly—Eloquent Speeches of ſeveral of the Members of the Coté-Droit—A remarkable Declaration made by Mirabeau—Intereſting Debates on the Heads of a Law relative to Emigration—Mirabeau openly attacks, and points out the Factious among the Members of the Coté-Gauche—A large Mob of Workmen go from Paris to Vincennes, and undertake to demoliſh the Priſon—M. de la Fayette follows them at the Head of a conſiderable Detachment of the National Guards—A Battalion

diſobeys, and inſults him—The Mob diſperſed, and the Ringleaders arreſted—Inſurrection in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine againſt the National Guard—Many Gentlemen uneaſy for the King's Safety, fly to the Palace with Arms concealed in their Pockets—The Jealouſy of the National Guards excited againſt them—They are inſulted—Diſguſting Conduct of M. de la Fayette—M. de Bouillé, informed by the King of Mirabeau's Plan, approves and promiſes to ſupport it—Interview between Mirabeau and M. de la Fayette—A Letter from the latter to M. de Bouillé—Mandate of the Archbiſhop of Sens.

THE important queſtion which aroſe on the departure of the King's Aunts *(Meſdames)* relative to the particular obligations which ought to be laid on the Royal Family, could not be conſtitutionally treated according to the principles already decreed, but as connected with the public functions, in which any of its members might be engaged, or to which they might be appointed: and it was only in this point of view that *Chapelier* preſented it to the Aſſembly. Therefore, inſtead

inſtead of a Decree which the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* had anticipated in their imagination for preventing the King's Aunts from leaving the kingdom, he only propoſed one prohibiting Public Functionaries from leaving the place of their official reſidence. In the 4th article it was ſaid, "The King, as *firſt Public Functionary*, ought to reſide within reach of the National Aſſembly when met; but when ſeparated, he might reſide in any other part of the kingdom." The articles that followed obliged the preſumptive Heir of the Crown to reſide near the King, leaving him at liberty to travel in any part of the kingdom with his Majeſty's permiſſion, but not to go out of it without being firſt authoriſed by a Decree of the Aſſembly, ſanctioned by the King. In caſe of the minority of the preſumptive Heir of the Crown, the Queen and the next Prince in ſucceſſion to the preſumptive Heir, of age and capable of ſucceeding, were obliged to a ſimilar reſidence. The reſt of the Royal Family were only bound as to reſidence by the laws common to all the citizens. In order to allay the diſcontents that this Decree would neceſſarily produce, *Chapelier* adroitly concluded it with an article, in which it was declared

declared that the Members of the Royal Family who ſhould act contrary to it ſhould be conſidered as having perſonally renounced the ſucceſſion to the Throne. He alſo announced that the Committee of Conſtitution were going immediately to propoſe a Decree reſpecting the Emigrants, which, though conſtitutional, would be applicable, like martial law, only to times of effervescence, when the country might be in danger.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions the *Coté-Gauche* were not ſatisfied, and on the opening of the debate on this plan for a Decree, *Barrere* propoſed another, by which not only the Princes, but the Princeſſes of the Royal Family, or of thoſe of the Princes of the Blood Royal, were to be deprived of the liberty of going out of the kingdom in times of commotion, of revolution, of war, whether civil or foreign, or of extreme ſcarcity of ſpecie. The Members of the *Coté-Droit* oppoſed both of theſe plans. They were angry with the epithet of *firſt Public Functionary* given in both to the King, and with the fetters thrown upon his liberty. "You would make a Doge of Venice of the King of France," cried *M. de la Galiſſoniere*, "and the reſidence you impoſe upon

upon him is a perpetual priſon." *M. de Cazalès* maintained that to deprive the King of the command of his armies, after having declared him Generaliſſimo of them, was not only a ſhocking contradiction, but a ſure means of reducing his Majeſty to a ſtate ſtill more diſgraceful than that in which almoſt all the kings of the two firſt races had lived. He contended alſo with the greateſt force againſt the article which declared the non-reſidence of the King to be an abdication of the Crown.—"This article," ſaid he, "is clearly unconſtitutional: it is aimed againſt an inviolability which you have decreed. If the King can forfeit his Crown, he may be tried; if he can be tried he is not inviolable, and of courſe there is no liberty: for if the Executive Power could be tried it would be dependent; and you would ſee ambition creating factions and commotions. The Legiſlative Power would invade the ſupreme authority; the Nation would loſe its rights and its liberty.—Remember that you are the depoſitaries of the will of a free people, and that it is peculiarly in the language of free men that *force* ſignifies *virtue*."

The Abbé *Maury* ſupported *M. de Cazalès* with great eloquence, inſiſting on an adjournment

adjournment of the queſtion. *M. Deſpremenil* thinking that the adjournment did not ſufficiently mark the indignation the Decrees propoſed ought to excite, expreſſed his own with great energy. "By what right," ſaid he, "do the Committee dare to call the King *Public Functionary?* By what right do they propoſe to confound the Dauphin with men appointed to ſupply the places of Deputies to the National Aſſembly? I am not ſurpriſed that perſons capable of uſing expreſſions ſo diſreſpectful, ſo foreign to the heart of every good Frenchman, and ſo far removed from all the ideas we have hitherto entertained, ſhould propoſe to ſubject the King to a penalty of the loſs of the throne. This is a total dereliction of principles. Is the King's perſon inviolable? Is he ſacred? Is he exempt from all juriſdiction? From all penalty? I call upon every Frenchman, upon every faithful ſervant of the King; I tell them that they can no longer, without a breach of their former oath, which no other can do away, or countervail—"

At theſe words he was interrupted on the one hand by violent murmurs, and on the other by repeated plaudits. The Preſident attempted

attempted to appeaſe the tumult, but by a blundering expreſſion encreaſed it. "You "have not yourſelf forgotten," ſaid he, "the oath you took to be faithful to the "Nation, the Law, and the King. It "would be a breach of it in you to ſay that "this oath could not have exiſted after that "which you allude to." What the Preſident ſaid was not what he meant to ſay, nor applicable to what *M. Deſpremenil* had ſaid. "That is not the point," cried the *Coté-Droit*; "It is the point," replied the *Coté-Gauche*, and clapped their hands. "*Vive le Roi!*" then cried *M. de Montloſier* with the greateſt rapture. This cry being repeated by the Abbé *Maury* became general among the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and reſounded through the Hall. *M. de Cazalès* attempting to ſpeak, the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries clapped their hands to drown his voice. After ſeveral vain efforts he obtained a hearing, and ſpoke as follows: "I have the honour to obſerve "that we have all taken the oath to be "faithful to the Conſtitution. Is it poſſible "that the Preſident of the National Aſſem-"bly can ſuppoſe that the oath is inconſiſt-"ent with the fidelity which we owe the "King?

" King? Sooner ſhould our tongues have " withered in our mouths, ſooner ſhould " our arms have dropped from our bodies, " than we would have taken ſuch an oath. " We have ſworn to be faithful to the King; " that oath ſhall not be taken in vain; that " oath we will ever invoke to repel all at- " tacks upon the Monarchy; by that oath " will we contend."—" We all renew it," cried the Abbé *Maury*: " Yes, yes," was repeated by all the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, holding up their hands. " It is by " this oath," reſumed *M. de Cazalès*, " that " we will prevent any thing from being in- " troduced into the Conſtitution we have " ſworn to maintain, which may ſtrike at " the Royal Authority." Here applauſe was heard in different parts of the Hall. " The Royal Authority is the corner ſtone " of the Government; it is upon that that " the Conſtitution reſts. Some there are " who wiſh to make you forget this truth; " but in the circle of errors which we are " perhaps deſtined to run, it is neceſſary al- " ways to remember the Decree by which " you have declared France a Monarchy. It " is our Pharos, and will never miſlead us " in the dark voyage into which ſome

" would fain hurry us. If ſuch be the "light according to which we ought to " ſteer, the Preſident was wrong to ſay that " the oath of fidelity to the King is incom- " patible with the oath to the Conſtitution." —" *He did not ſay that,*" was repeated by ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Gauche*; but none of them dared to diſpute the principles advanced by *M. de Cazalès*, nor the ſentiments he had expreſſed. The Preſident diſconcerted, ſeemed as if he wiſhed to ſay ſomething, but could not articulate a word. *Mirabeau* deſired leave to ſpeak, which the Members of the *Coté-Droit* oppoſed, but at length he obtained it, and after a few obſervations explanatory of the Preſident's expreſſion, he continued thus: " It is extremely " wrong to raiſe a doubt of our reſpect for " the oath we took of fidelity to the King, " becauſe we took the Conſtitutional oath: " he who raiſes ſuch a doubt deſerves the " higheſt reprehenſion. This unambiguous " declaration, and for which I will contend " againſt the whole world in energy, fully " determined as I am to oppoſe the Factions " of all kinds who would ſtrike at the prin- " ciples of the Monarchy, be the ſyſtem " what it may, or in whatever part of the " king-

" kingdom it may appear; this declaration, " I ſay, includes all places, all times, all " perſons, all ſects."

After having thus proclaimed this kind of manifeſto againſt the Factions and gained it applauſe, *Mirabeau* concluded with moving the adjournment of the queſtion till after the Committee of the Conſtitution ſhould have completed their labours on the Regency, the education of Kings under age, and the eligibility of the Members of the reigning Family to public offices. The Aſſembly adopted *Mirabeau*'s motion, and broke up the Sitting. The King and Queen heard with delight and ſenſibility what had paſſed, and their Majeſties placed great hopes upon the moment when *Mirabeau* ſhould declare himſelf ſo openly as to attach the Royal party to him. An opportunity for this happened in the Sitting of the 28th of February, and he ſeized it with as much ability as energy. This Sitting is too intereſting to be paſſed over without an account of the principal circumſtances of it.

The queſtion was reſpecting a law on Emigration. *Chapelier*, the Reporter of the Committee of the Conſtitution who had been charged to prepare it, announced that after

after having thoroughly examined whether the principles of the Conſtitution, whether the principles on which liberty, public order, and the reſources of the Kingdom were founded could allow of ſuch a law, and whether it could be grounded on the Decrees already paſſed, the Committee had been compelled to acknowledge that it was impoſſible for them to frame a law on this ſubject which would not be injurious to the Conſtitution. "The more we inveſtigated," ſaid he, "the more objections did we find that were unanſwerable. We have nevertheleſs framed the plan of a decree: we were bound to do it as you required it, but we premiſe to you that it exceeds the limits of our principles, that it is really the ſpirit of a dictature. We beg the Aſſembly to decide whether they chooſe to hear it read or not, and whether, after the obſervations we have made, they perſiſt in deſiring a law on emigration."

Great debates aroſe to determine whether, as the Aſſembly could not admit the plan of a law inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, they ought to ſuffer it to be read. Some maintained that it was indiſpenſable to diſcuſs the project drawn up by the Committee to determine formally the impoſſibility of mak-

ing a law on emigration, while others inſiſted on the previous queſtion, the order of the day, and ſo forth. In the midſt of this agitation, *Mirabeau* advanced towards the Tribune, to which he was invited by repeated clappings. "Within an hour," ſaid he, "I have received ten notes, the one half of which call upon me to profeſs the principles I have long openly ſupported on the theory of emigration, and the other half urge me to attend to what has been repeatedly called in this Aſſembly the neceſſity of circumſtances. I requeſt in the ſituation in which I ſtand, that on an occaſion in which it is requiſite for a friend of liberty, one who has ſerved Revolutions, and who has already made too much noiſe for his quiet, in which it is requiſite for him I ſay to appear in a very clear and decided manner, I requeſt that I may be allowed to read a page and a half (few ſpeeches are ſhorter) of a letter addreſſed eight years ago to the moſt abſolute deſpot of Europe. They who look for principles will find ſomething reaſonable in it, and at all events no one will have a right to queſtion me any more. It is written to *Frederic William*, now King of Pruſſia, on the day of his acceſſion to the

throne, and I expreſſed myſelf thus: "In "your kingdom, Sire, men ſhould be "happy. Let every one, unleſs reſtrained "in a legal manner upon private obliga- "tions, be at liberty to leave his country. "Give that liberty by a formal edict. This "too is one of thoſe laws of eternal truth re- "quired by the force of things, which will "do you immortal honour, unattended "with the ſlighteſt loſs; for your people "could no where find a better lot than that "which you have it in your power to be- "ſtow upon them, and if they could be "more comfortable elſewhere, your prohi- "bitions to go would not ſtop them. "Leave ſuch laws to the Powers who "chooſe to make a priſon of their States, "as if that were not the means of rendering "a reſidence in them deteſtable. The moſt "abſolute laws againſt emigration have "never had any other effect than that of "impelling the people to emigrate, in ſpite "of that propenſity of nature, the ſtrongeſt "perhaps of any, which attaches them to "their country. The Laplander loves the "wild climate where he was born: how "then could the inhabitants of regions be- "neath a milder ſky think of forſaking

" them if the bounties of Nature were not " rendered uſeleſs or odious by a deſpotic " adminiſtration? Man bears all that Provi- " dence inflicts, but he bears nothing that " is unjuſt from his fellow creatures, and if " he ſubmits, it is with an unwilling heart. " The only language that can now have a " durable ſucceſs is that of Juſtice and Rea- " ſon; and Princes cannot meditate too " much on the leſſon which Engliſh Ame- " rica has given to all Governments, to be " juſt and wiſe, if it be not their intention " to govern ſoon only over deſerts, or to en- " counter Revolutions."

The letter excited great applauſe, but much more from the *Coté-Droit*, than from the *Coté-Gauche*. When it ceaſed, and *Mirabeau* could be heard, he concluded as follows: " I move, not merely and ſimply to " paſs to the order of the day; we muſt " not ſeem to ſmother in ſilence a circum- " ſtance which requires a formal declara- " tion, and which the opinion of the Com- " mittee renders very memorable, but I " move for a decree to be worded thus: " The National Aſſembly having heard the " Report of their Committee of the Conſti- " tion, and conſidering that a law on the

" Emigrants

"Emigrants is incompatible with the prin-
"ciples of the Conſtitution, have refuſed to
"hear the plan of a law on that ſubject read,
"and have decreed that they will paſs to the
"order of the day; without prejudice never-
"theleſs to the Decrees already paſſed reſpect-
"ing ſuch perſons as have penſions and ſine-
"cures paid by the Nation, and who are out
"of the kingdom."

The clapping was renewed by the *Coté-Droit*, and ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly called for the queſtion. The *Coté-Gauche* were ſilent. At laſt one of their Members (*Rewbell*) advanced to oppoſe the opinion of the Committee ſupported by the letter which *Mirabeau* had juſt read. He did not attempt to prove that a law on the ſubject of the Emigrants was not incompatible with the Conſtitution: he only maintained that without ſuch a law there would be no longer a Conſtitution. "If," ſaid he, "you would ſecure the execution of your laws, it is neceſſary that my neighbour ſhould be ſubject to the ſame duties that I am. How ſhould I defend his poſſeſſions with my perſon and my blood, if he flies far from mine? No ſociety can exiſt with-

out reciprocal duties, in times of war, fire, plague, and ſo forth."

The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, little affected with the picture of theſe calamities, interrupted him with burſts of laughter; for which he was conſoled by ſome applauſes from the *Coté-Gauche*. *Rewbell* dwelt ſome time longer on the ſame ideas, but propoſed no meaſure.

Merlin cited a paſſage from the Social Contract, where *Rouſſeau* ſays, *that in times of trouble emigrations may be forbidden*; and moved that the plan for the law drawn up by the Committee be read and ordered to be printed, and that the conſideration of it be adjourned for eight days. The *Coté-Gauche* warmly applauded this motion, and *Muguet de Nanthou* ſupported it with all his power. He put the Aſſembly in mind that three days before, (the 25th of February) when the Report was made reſpecting the reſidence of Public Functionaries, the Committee of the Conſtitution had formally acknowledged the juſtice and neceſſity of a law on the Emigrants; that they had engaged not to delay the plan of one, ſaying, *that ſuch a law ſhould be as a Conſti-*

Conſtitutional law; but that like Martial Law it ſhould be applicable only in thoſe times of effervescence and danger which rendered it neceſſary. "Whence then," added he, "this ſtrange conduct? Why this extraordinary language? Whence this inſtability in the principles of your Committee? Having once changed their opinion they may change it again; allow at leaſt a little time for reflection, that we may know whether we ought to give our confidence to *M. Chapelier* of to-day, or to *M. Chapelier* of Friday laſt."

Chapelier explained this contradiction, by ſaying, that after a fuller examination the Committee had found that impracticable which they had at firſt thought poſſible. The reading of the plan for a Decree drawn up by the Committee was then called for by a great number of voices, and theſe repeated ſhouts prevented thoſe who wiſhed to ſpeak from being heard.

The obſtinacy of the *Coté-Gauche*, in calling for the reading of the plan, having compelled the Aſſembly to order it, *Chapelier* read it as follows:

"Art. I. In times of commotion, and upon the declaration of the National Aſſem-

bly, the following law ſhall be put in force by a proclamation which ſhall be made in all the Departments.

"Art. II. A Council of three perſons ſhall be appointed by the National Aſſembly, with a Dictatorial Power, to be exerciſed ſolely on the right of leaving the kingdom, and on the obligation of returning to it. They ſhall point out the abſentees, who ſhall be held bound to return into the kingdom under pain of being treated as rebels, and no permiſſion ſhall be given for leaving France but by the ſame authority."

At the words *Dictatorial Power* long and violent buzzings were heard in every part of the Hall. "The Law conſiſts but "of three Articles," cried *Chapelier*; "ſo "it will require no great ſtretch of pati- "ence to hear it out. We think that if "there can be one at all it muſt be this; "for none elſe can be executed. I pro- "ceed.

"Art. III. They who ſhall not be obedient to the preſent Law ſhall forfeit all the rights of a French Citizen, and be declared incapable of holding any office, and their income and eſtates ſhall be confiſcated."

The agitation and murmurs were redoubled,

bled, and the previous queſtion was almoſt every where called for, while a few voices were heard for the adjournment. In the midſt of the tumult *Mirabeau* roſe, and in ſpite of the clamours of the *Coté-Gauche* obtained a hearing.

"As the formation of the Law is irreconcileable with all kind of exceſs whatever, the exceſs of zeal is as little calculated as any other to prepare it. The Law is not to be made by indignation; it is reflection, it is juſtice, it is, above all, juſtice by which it ought to be directed. You have not paid your Committee of Conſtitution the ſame honour that the Athenians paid to *Ariſtides*, when they left him the judge of the morality of the plan which he propoſed; but the murmurs which were heard at the reading of the project of the Committee ſhows that you were as good judges of that morality as *Ariſtides*, and that you did well in reſerving the deciſion of it to yourſelves. I will not do ſuch injuſtice to the Aſſembly as to ſuppoſe it neceſſary to demonſtrate that the three Articles propoſed by the Committee might have found a ſuitable place in the Code of *Draco*, but can never appear among the Decrees of the National Aſſembly of France.

France. What I would undertake to demonſtrate perhaps, if the diſcuſſion turned to that view of the queſtion is, that the very barbarity of the law propoſed to you is the higheſt proof of the impracticability of a Law on Emigration."—(Here a part of the *Coté-Gauche* cried, No! No! while the reſt of the Aſſembly applauded.) "I am not ignorant that there are extreme caſes, that there are critical ſituations in which meaſures of policy are indiſpenſably neceſſary even againſt principles, even againſt eſtabliſhed laws: it is the dictatorſhip of neceſſity; but immenſe is the diſtance between a meaſure of policy and a law. A law upon emigration is, I repeat it to you, a thing out of your power, becauſe it is impracticable. It has been proved by the experience of all ages, and of all Governments upon the earth, that with power the moſt deſpotic, the moſt concentrated in the hands of *Buſiriſes*, ſuch a law has never been enforced, becauſe it cannot be enforced. I declare that I ſhould conſider myſelf as abſolved from my oath of fidelity to thoſe who could be ſo infamous as to appoint a dictatorial commiſſion." Here violent murmurs aroſe from a party of the *Coté-Gauche*, which were drowned

drowned by the clapping of the *Coté-Droit.* "Gentlemen," continued *Mirabeau*, "the popularity I wiſh, and of which I have had the honour to enjoy my ſhare, is not a feeble reed, but an oak, whoſe roots I would have ſhoot far into the ground; that is to ſay, into the firm baſes of the principles of reaſon, juſtice, and liberty. I ſhould be diſhonoured in my own eyes, if at any moment of my life I ceaſed to repel with indignation the right, the pretended right of making a law of this kind. But let me be underſtood, I do not mean a proviſional meaſure, a meaſure of policy, but a law on emigration, againſt emigrants. I ſwear I will obey it in no caſe if it paſs."

Theſe laſt words produced a violent clamour in the *Coté-Gauche*, where *Lameth*, *Barnave*, and their adherents were placed. *Mirabeau* treated it with a look of contempt, and repeated the plan for a Decree which he had already moved. None of the Speakers of the *Coté-Gauche* undertook to reply to him; but *Vernier*, one of the moſt moderate among them, only obſerved, that all the Departments complained of emigration, that all demanded a law on that ſubject; that ſuch a law had long been talked

of

of in the Aſſembly, and formally promiſed by that very Committee who had preſented ſo barbarous and ridiculous a plan, that it was impoſſible to adopt it. "Gentlemen," added he, encouraged by the applauſes which the *Coté-Gauche* laviſhed upon him, "I ſee you are led away by a very extraordinary mode of proceeding. We are told it is impoſſible to make a better law; but we muſt not be frightened at the word *impoſſibility*. I ſee none at preſent, but that of adopting the plan which the Committee has preſented to you, and I vote for its being diſpoſed of by the previous queſtion. But to be very certain that it is not poſſible to make a better law, we muſt take a nearer view of it, and on this ground I move that it be referred for examination to every one of the Committees of the Aſſembly, who, after having examined it ſeparately, ſhall unite in commiſſions."

The previous queſtion on the project preſented by the Committee was called for from every quarter of the Hall, and it was unanimouſly rejected. The motion for a reference to the different Committees was not ſupported in the ſame manner. The *Coté-Gauche* maintaining that this was a motion of adjournment, inſiſted that it ſhould ſtand before

before *Mirabeau's*, which the *Coté-Droit* unanimouſly contended ſhould have the precedence. After very tumultuous debates, it was decided in favour of *Vernier's*. The previous queſtion was then called for on this motion by ſeveral Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and oppoſed by the clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*. *Mirabeau* attempting to ſpeak, *Goupil de Prefeln* choſe to anſwer him before he had ſaid a word: "By what "title," ſaid he, "does *M. Mirabeau* here "exerciſe the Dictatorſhip?" A great many Deputies of all parties leaving their places, ran into the middle of the Hall ſpeaking all at once. The Preſident did not know who to attend to. "I have but three words to ſay, Mr. Preſident," cried *Mirabeau* from the tribune which he had aſcended; "I beg the gentlemen who chooſe to interrupt me to recollect, that I have all my life contended againſt deſpotiſm, and to be perfectly aſſured that I will to the end of my life contend againſt it." The *Coté-Droit* applauded, and ſome voices from the *Coté-Gauche* cried: *It is not true, you exerciſe it.*—*Mirabeau* continued: "I alſo beg *M. Goupil* to remember that he was formerly miſtaken in the *Cataline*, whoſe Dictatorſhip he at preſent

ſent oppoſes. I now beſeech the Aſſembly to conſider that the inſertion of the word *adjournment* into a motion containing ſeveral other propoſitions, is not enough to change it into a ſimple motion of adjournment."—The *Coté-Gauche* were agitated, and murmured.—"It is not enough to blend ſeveral propoſitions, and cover them."—The murmurs here became more violent.—"*Silence thoſe thirty voices*," continued *Mirabeau* in the moſt commanding tone: "It is not enough, I ſay, to amalgamate ſeveral propoſitions, and dreſs them up under the name of *adjournment* to obtain for them a pure and ſimple adjournment. The order of the day, as moved by me, is, I think, better than *M. Vernier's* motion, to which, if the Aſſembly incline to adopt it, I move this amendment, that it be decreed that between this time and the expiration of the adjournment there ſhall be no riot."

Some murmurs, lower and more concealed than the preceding ones, were again mingled with the repeated applauſes which the Members of the *Coté-Droit* beſtowed on *Mirabeau*; but the looks of the *thirty factious leaders* whom he apoſtrophiſed were much fallen. They, no doubt, dreaded that *Mirabeau*

rabeau having unmaſked the ſecret of their number, would alſo unmaſk the ſecret of their plots. Not one of them ſpoke: they contented themſelves with ſecuring by their votes the majority for the motion oppoſed by *Mirabeau*, and which was finally decreed in ſpite of the warm remonſtrances of the *Coté-Droit*.

That theſe details may not appear too minute, we muſt keep in view that this Sitting, in which *Mirabeau*, attacking openly the factious leaders of the Revolution, rallied about him all the members of the Royal Party without loſing his popularity, was alſo the laſt in which he took any part that could be ſaid to be remarkable.

The ſame day (February 28) was diſtinguiſhed by other events too important to be paſſed over in ſilence. In the morning a great number of workmen went in a riotous manner to Vincennes, declaring their intention of demoliſhing the State Priſon there, which the Aſſembly had authoriſed the Municipality of Paris to repair, for the purpoſe of receiving a part of the priſoners who were crouded in the priſons of the capital. The rioters, on their arrival, proceeded immediately to the tower, and after deſtroying

the

the furniture, the gates, windows, and bars; which had been juſt repaired, they began to demoliſh the parapets and the platform. At two o'clock in the afternoon, *M. de la Fayette* ordered the drums to beat to arms, and aſſembled a large detachment to repel this attempt. The battalions of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, at the inſtigation of *Santerre*, murmured loudly againſt this expedition, and ſhowed the greateſt repugnance to joining in it. *M. de la Fayette* did not think it proper to attend at that moment to this act of diſobedience, and marched to Vincennes with his army, accompanied by the Municipal Officer. The latter, when they arrived at the draw-bridge at the head of the column, found the court of the caſtle filled with a mob of about 4000 perſons, whom they ordered to retire immediately. This order being repeated, and ſupported by a large detachment of cavalry, was obeyed in leſs than five minutes.

As the General was arranging his troops, the cry of *Down with La Fayette*, ſeveral times repeated by the Chaſſeurs of one of his battalions, ſtruck his ear. Fortunately for him he did not appear to be the leaſt diſconcerted by it; but advancing boldly to the battalion

battalion from which the cries had proceeded, he ordered all who did not chooſe to defend the laws to leave the ranks. Not a man ſtirring, he declared in a very forcible tone that he who did not obey ſhould be immediately puniſhed.

The demolition, however, was ſtill carried on. The workmen anſwered the ſummons to come down only by threats. They even rung the alarm on the bell hung at the extremity of the tower; upon which a Municipal Officer went up, accompanied by the Commander of a battalion and a great number of volunteers, and after ſome reſiſtance ſucceeded in clearing it of the workmen, and arreſted ſixty-four of the mutineers moſt obſtinately bent on the demolition of the priſon. *M. de la Fayette* then left a numerous detachment in the caſtle to prevent new enterpriſes, and ſet out with his army for Paris. The priſoners were in the centre: two ſtrong detachments of cavalry formed the van and rear guards. The infantry marched in four columns, and the wings were flanked by ſeveral pieces of cannon.

The malecontents of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, who had not dared to oppoſe the march of the army, thought themſelves

ſtrong enough to prevent their return, and ſaw nothing but patriotiſm in it, without ſuſpecting that the motives of thoſe who inſtigated them, and particularly *Santerre*, could only be to rob *M. de la Fayette* of his popularity. Be that as it may, the Pariſian army found the *Barriere du trône* ſhut, and guarded by an immenſe crowd, armed with every ſort of weapon, who ſeemed to intend to reſcue the priſoners, and to prevent the National Guard from re-entering Paris. However, a body of troops, compoſed of cavalry and infantry, with the artillery, ſoon opened the gate, and diſperſed this mob. Some of the troopers were aſſailed with ſtones thrown by the people. After they had reached the market *St. Antoine*, all plan of reſiſtance ſeemed to be given up, and the army was advancing without any obſtacle, when a trooper had his thigh broken by a ſhot from a window. The National Guards, however, continued their march, and lodged their priſoners in the *Conciergerie*.

The extreme fermentation produced by theſe commotions in the capital, had ſpread the greateſt alarms. All the ſtreets were lighted. It was feared that the ſeditious had

had formed the project of going to the Palace, where an ill-looking man with a hanger in his belt had been arrested in the morning; on which a report had been immediately spread that the person was an assassin, and his hanger a poniard *. The fears which this story had excited for the safety of the King were increased to such a degree by the commotions of the day, that several zealous Royalists flew to the Palace with arms concealed in their pockets, or under their coats, to defend, at the risque of their own lives, those of the King and Royal Family if they were threatened. This noble emotion, which was always so natural to the French nobility, was unfortunately attended with imprudence and indiscretion. Some young Royalists, before they went to the Palace, called at the *Palais-Royal* to recruit their numbers, without concealing their intention, and spoke of it with so little caution, that the news of it soon spread throughout the Garden. The National Guards who were there immediately ran and gave intel-

* It was not known till the next day that this person was the Chevalier *Count de la Tonelle*, a very brave officer, enthusiastically attached to the King, and anxious to give proofs of his zeal.

ligence of it to thoſe who were on guard at the Palace. "You are looked upon then," ſaid they to them, "as cowards or as traitors, for a number of armed perſons are "permitted to enter the Palace ſecretly, to "defend ſeparately, and without any communication with you, a poſt confided to "you. You cannot ſuffer it without diſhonouring yourſelves. It is not certainly "the King's deſire that you ſhould experience this humiliation: this aſſembling "muſt doubtleſs be formed without his "knowledge; denounce it to him and complain."

This information ſo exaſperated the diviſion of the National Guards who were then on guard at the Palace, that they charged their officers to go immediately and beg the King to give orders for the diſarming and removal of the Ariſtocrats, who had aſſembled, to the number of about 300, in a room adjoining his Majeſty's apartment. The King ſtrove in vain to pacify thoſe officers; they became but the more imperious in their demands. The warmth and tone with which theſe were inſiſted upon, convincing the King that if they were rejected the maſſacre of all the gentlemen who had come to the Palace would be the immediate

diate conſequence, his Majeſty engaged to demand their arms, and diſmiſs them inſtantly.

The King gave with ſorrow and ſenſibility an order which was forced from him by the dread of ſeeing the blood of ſo many faithful ſervants ſhed before his eyes. They received it with conſternation, and ſubmitted to it. Their arms were delivered to his Majeſty, who ſhut them up in a drawer to have them reſtored the next day. It was at this moment that *M. de la Fayette*, on his return from Vincennes, repaired to the Palace, learned what was paſſing there, and eagerly ſeized the occaſion to confirm his popularity, the rapid decline of which might well alarm him. He went then into the King's apartment, and inſtead of confining himſelf to the ſupporting of the complaints of the National Guards, he cauſed the drawers that contained the arms that had been juſt delivered to his Majeſty to be opened, and the arms to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers. At the ſame time the 300 Royaliſts, thus diſarmed, were all flying home, purſued in a cowardly manner, and inſulted by the National Guards, who arreſted ſix of them, whom they lodged in priſon, after treating them

moſt ſhamefully *. *M. de la Fayette* thought he had not yet done enough: he forced the King to give an order that in future only the National Guards, who formed his Majeſty's guard, and the perſons belonging to his houſehold and to that of the Royal Family, ſhould be admitted into the Palace. The very next day the gates of the Tuileries were ſhut, and no ſtranger allowed to enter.

It was in this manner that the Palace of the Tuileries began to aſſume all the marks of a ſtate priſon, into which, as was formerly the caſe with the Baſtile, only the Governor, the guards, and the ſervants were ſuffered to paſs. Nothing but the hope of being ſoon delivered from this ſlavery could have made the King ſupport it; and in *Mirabeau's* plan he had this proſpect. Very early in February his Majeſty had communicated it to the Marquis *de Bouillé*, informing him at the ſame time that in a few days he would ſee the Count *de L.* whom *Mirabeau* was to ſend to conſult with him on the means of its execution, to the ſucceſs of which he might contribute. The King in his letter, ſpeaking of *Mirabeau*, ſaid:

* They were not ſet at liberty till the 12th of March.

"Although

"Although the character of this man is any "thing but reſpectable, and although he "makes me purchaſe his ſervices very dear-"ly, I think they will be uſeful to me. It "appears to me that a great part of his plans "ought to be adopted. Still I am of opinion "that you ſhould liſten to what the Count "*de L.* has to impart to you from him with-"out opening yourſelf too much, and tell me "what you think of his communication *."

The day after *M. de Bouillé* received this letter, the Count *de L.* arrived at Metz, and paid him his firſt viſit. He gave him the minuteſt detail of *Mirabeau's* projects, of the funds he had already received from the King, and of thoſe he was to receive monthly, of the number of Departments on which he could depend, which he reckoned to be thirty-ſix, and of every other particular. His plan was to place the King and Royal Family at *Fontainebleau*, or at *Compiegne*, into the hands of *M. de Bouillé*, who ſhould repair thither with his beſt troops.

M. de Bouillé approved this plan the more, as on his ſide he had completely the ſix De-

* As to theſe facts, ſee the Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. xi.

partments which were under his command, and was beſides informed by his correſpondence with the Commanders of the different diviſions of the army ſpread over the kingdom, that there was ſcarcely a ſingle Department which was not diſpoſed to declare itſelf in favour of Royalty as ſoon as the opportunity ſhould offer: but to impreſs and direct this general movement required ſuperior talents, great popularity, a bold ſpirit, the greateſt ability, and, above all, a character of vaſt energy; and in *M. de Bouillé's* eyes nobody united all theſe advantages ſo completely as *Mirabeau*. He conſidered even his paſſions, and particularly his ambition and inſatiable avarice, as the beſt ſureties for his fidelity to the ſervice of a cauſe by which he had moſt to gain in every point of view.

M. de Bouillé therefore fully approved *Mirabeau's* plan, and promiſed the Count *de L.* to ſecond the execution of it with all the means in his power. He wrote to the ſame effect to the King, and adviſed him to relinquiſh the plan which his Majeſty had formed of going to Montmedy, and which he thought was far more dangerous, and had much leſs probability of ſucceſs.

The day after the Count de *L.'s* departure from

from Metz, *M. de la Fayette*, who was alſo meditating a plan, and who feared the obſtacles that might be thrown in its way by *Mirabeau*, whom he ſuſpected of very different views, had a conference with him of three hours, in which each endeavoured to ſift the other without ſuffering himſelf to be diſcovered, and which they concluded without advancing a ſtep nearer than they were before. It was impoſſible, in fact, that there could be the ſlighteſt degree of intelligence between two men who ſo cordially deteſted, while they thought they deſpiſed each other. Had they not been divided irrevocably by their conſtant rivalry in ambition and popularity, they muſt neceſſarily have been ſo by the immenſe diſtance at which they were placed, by the difference of their character and genius, if however we may call the petty faculties of *M. de la Fayette* by the name of genius *. However that may have

* In an interview between them, which had been brought about by their mutual friends to reconcile them, *Mirabeau* having for the execution of ſome plan propoſed means of a violent nature, *M. de la Fayette* ſtarted, and exclaimed: "Nay, *M. de Mirabeau*, it is impoſſible that "a man of honour can employ ſuch means." "A man "of honour!" replied *Mirabeau:* "Ah! *M. de la* "*Fayette*,

have been, it was after this converſation that the Commander of the Pariſian National Guard wrote to *M. de Bouillé* the letter I ſhall here report, and which may be conſidered as a faithful picture of the Court, the Aſſembly, and the Capital at that time. Nothing is exaggerated but the imputation caſt upon the Prieſts, and what *M. de la Fayette* ſays of his own ſituation. His painting this in ſuch fine colours is owing to his ſeeing it always through the priſm of vanity. *M. de Bouillé* ſhowed me the original letter, which he publiſhed in his Memoirs, and is as follows:

"*Fayette*, I ſee that you would be a *Grandiſon Cromwell*— "You will ſee where ſuch a mixture will lead you."— Another time, upon a ſimilar occaſion, *M. de la Fayette* complaining bitterly of the atrocious projects which were formed againſt him by his enemies, and by *Mirabeau* himſelf, the latter called upon him to explain. "Well, "then," replied *M. de la Fayette*, "I will tell you, "ſince you force me to it, that I was thoroughly ac- "quainted with your intention of having me aſſaſſi- "nated."—"I, Sir!"—"Yes, Sir, in ſuch a place, on "ſuch a day, at ſuch an hour; I was ſure of it."— "You were ſure of it!—You were ſure of it, *M. de la "Fayette!* and I ſtill alive!—What a good creature you "are! And you think of taking the leading parts in a "Revolution!"

"*Paris*,

" *Paris, Feb.* 7, 1791.

" It is a long time, my dear couſin, ſince I wrote to you; and ſince my converſation with your ſon, I have not had it in my power to give you any intereſting news.—Paris has been divided by factions, and the kingdom oppreſſed by anarchy. The violent Ariſtocrats dream of Counter-Revolution; the Prieſts concur with them through fanaticiſm; the moderate Ariſtocrats have not the courage to commit fooliſh things, but they ſay a great many. The impartial Monarchiſts, and the politicians of every degree of the *Coté-Droit*, are only looking for a part to play, without the means, phyſical or moral, of doing it; and they too, if they ſhould become any thing, would be Ariſtocrats. In the *Coté-Gauche* you have a great many honeſt men who wait in ſuſpence; a club of 1789, who loſe themſelves in philoſophical ſpeculations; a club of Jacobins, the body of which are alſo well inclined, but the leaders of which ſpread trouble every where. All this is increaſed by aſſociates in the Capital, and in the Provinces; and, unfortunately, number more than choice is aimed at, becauſe the leaders are influenced by private intereſts and paſſions. As to the Miniſters, they

they are merged in the Revolution, and have no rule but this, to yield to the popular party, whoſe denunciations they fear. The Courtiers are as heretofore, very ſilly, very contemptible, and very ariſtocratic. The Queen is reſigned to the Revolution, hoping that opinions will change a little, but dreading war. The King only wiſhes for the happineſs of the people, and the general tranquillity to begin his own.

" I have forgotten to ſpeak of myſelf. I am violently attacked by all the party leaders, who conſider me as an obſtacle not to be overcome, and impoſſible to intimidate; and the firſt article of every vile project is to overthrow me. Add to this the well-merited hatred of the Ariſtocrats, and of the *Orleans* party, who have more power than they appear to have: add the rage of the *Lameths*, with whom I was connected; of *Mirabeau*, who ſays I deſpiſed him: add the money diſtributed, the libels, the diſſatisfaction I give to thoſe whom I prevent from pillaging Paris, and you will have the ſum of all that is going on againſt me. But, except a few ardent heads which are miſled, all well-meaning men, from the pooreſt of the people to the higheſt, the violent Ariſtocrats excepted, are

are for me. I ſtand well with the National Guards, all but ſome diſreputable Jacobins; for the honeſt Jacobins are for me, notwithſtanding my reſolution to go no more to their Club. For two months paſt I have had leſs communication with the Court than ever, becauſe it anſwered no purpoſe, and I do only what may be uſeful to my country; but I fear advantage has been taken of my negligence to intrigue: I know that they were ever upon the point of being led into great follies, and that they ſtopped upon the brink of the precipice. There are ſuch ſad people about the Queen; the little heads of the Tuileries catch ſo eagerly at hopes, and calculate obſtacles ſo ill, that it is to be feared they will ſpoil this precious inſtrument of public order, and make the King only a means of private ambition. Such is the general ſituation; and my ideas are theſe:

" Some friends, and particularly *Emeri*, are at work with me upon a plan of conduct by which the Revolution will be conſolidated, the good baſis of the Conſtitution eſtabliſhed, and public order reſtored. The chief talents of the Aſſembly, *Mirabeau* himſelf, cannot but ſupport this aſſociation, and it is for this he is particularly adapted. Here now

then

then are Courts eſtabliſhed; and the police of the kingdoms, the Juries are decreed; this is the moment to let our voice be heard with force, propriety, and utility.

"You have accepted the coalition which my heart and my patriotiſm have offered you; you ſaid the other day to one of my friends: 'If *La Fayette* and I underſtand one another well, we ſhall eſtabliſh a Conſtitution.' I value your friendſhip and your opinion too much not to communicate all my ideas to you, and to requeſt yours. A few days hence I will write to you more circumſtantially.

"My firſt wiſh is to finiſh the Revolution ſpeedily and well, to ſecure the Conſtitution on ſolid foundations, to employ for that purpoſe all I poſſeſs of national confidence and perſonal means, and then to be nothing more in France, either in a civil or military capacity, than an active citizen, and in time of war your Aid-de-camp, if you will have me, without rank or command. Adieu, my dear couſin, &c. &c.

"FAYETTE."

"*P. S.* There are a number of people whoſe heads are big with mighty projects, all the fruit of petty ambition. I will give you

you my opinion about them as I know them. But for men of honour, like us, it is our parts to proceed directly and openly to a uſeful and known object: all thoſe myſteries and intrigues are only fit for rogues, as all the fancies of weak heads are of uſe only to their enemies."

Inſtead of accuſing the Prieſts of concurring by the means of fanaticiſm in ſpreading commotions and anarchy through the kingdom, *M. de la Fayette* might have ſaid with much more truth that the determined manner in which the robbery, deprivation, and ſuperſeding of the lawful clergymen were carried on, excited ſo general an indignation, that it was very much to be apprehended that religious fanaticiſm prevailing over the revolutionary fanaticiſm would annihilate the new Conſtitution; and which no doubt would have been the caſe if thoſe faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel, who were proſcribed, driven from theſe offices, torn from the midſt of that ſanctuary, and from the foot of thoſe altars where the ſimple exerciſe of their duties ſeemed daily to revive the reſignation of their loſſes, and the energy of their virtues, had not taken all the pains in

their power to calm the minds of the people, and to prevent a civil war which they were accuſed of exciting. Theſe pains were far more effectual than the captious and hypocritical mandates of the new Biſhops *, than the

* I ſhall confine myſelf to quoting the following paſſage of the Mandate publiſhed by Cardinal *de Lomenie*, on the ſubject of Lent.

" It is very grateful to us to be able to tell you that it was of Charity we took counſel, when it was propoſed to us to take an oath to maintain with all our power the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy, decreed by the National Aſſembly, and accepted by the King. We argued that if we could do it, Charity made it a duty; and reciprocally if Charity made it a duty, we could do it; becauſe truth could not be contradictory to itſelf. From the examination we made of the Decrees of the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy, we found that we had the neceſſary authority to co-operate in the Articles the execution of which was required of us, and that by our concurrence we might put an end to the irregularities with which they might have been charged, if that concurrence was not obtained. We found that theſe articles left the Church in poſſeſſion of that proper and eſſential juriſdiction, in the defence of which the Clergy of France deigned formerly to employ our voice, and which confining itſelf within its limits is meant for the inſtruction of the doctrine and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. We found particularly that theſe articles were not contradictory to the faith or to the eſſence of religion, ſuch as it was given to us by JESUS CHRIST, and

the petty liſts of conforming prieſts published in the Revolutionary Papers, or than the calumniating declamations repeated every day againſt the Clergy in the Reports made to the Aſſembly. "We ſpend a great deal "too much time on the clergy," ſaid *Mirabeau* on this ſubject in the Sitting of the 2d of March; "we ſhould at preſent think "only of cauſing their penſions to be paid "to them, and of letting them go to ſleep "in peace."

And from theſe deciſive obſervations we concluded that we could not without a breach of charity refuſe to execute them, or to give our promiſe to maintain them. If it is written that it is better to obey GOD than Man, when the commandments of men are contrary to the Divine Law, it is alſo written that when there is no ſuch oppoſition, he who reſiſts the Sovereign Power reſiſts the commandment of God, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Weakneſs of the conſtituted Authorities—The King's Sickneſs—Reduction of the Number of the Marſhals of France—Victor de Broglio's Petition in favor of his Father—Marſhal Broglio diſclaims the Application—Conduct of the Biſhop of Autun—The Abbé Gobel, Biſhop of Lydda, is nominated Biſhop of Paris—Anecdotes—A Letter from Cardinal Lomenie to the Pope—Conduct of Mirabeau—Debate upon the Regency, and on the Reſidence of the King as Chief Public Functionary—Tumultuous Agitation in the Aſſembly—The Debate adjourned—Reſumed the next Day—The Opinion of the Committee adopted—The Members of the Coté-Droit take no part in the Deciſion—Sickneſs, Death, and Funeral of Mirabeau—Debate

bate on the Diſtribution of Succeſſions—A Diſcourſe of Mirabeau's on that Queſtion read by the Biſhop of Autun.

THE inhabitants of Arnay-le-Duc ſtill perſiſted in detaining the King's Aunts in ſpite of the Decree of the Aſſembly and his Majeſty's orders, ſupported by the injunctions of the Directors of the Department and of thoſe of the Diſtrict, and by the *ſolicitations* of the Municipal Officers; for all the conſtituted authorities were authorities under ſubjection to the will of the ſovereign people, who never obeyed them but when they had the prudence to order them to do what they liked to do. The Patriots of Arnay-le-Duc ſeeing in the public papers, that the journey of the King's Aunts was ſtill the ſubject of remonſtrance among ſome Members of the Aſſembly and the populace of Paris, had ſent Deputies thither to be informed by them whether the Decree of the 24th of February and the King's orders had been, or were to be revoked, and their Royal Highneſſes were not ſuffered to continue their journey till the return of thoſe Deputies.

In the Capital as well as at Arnay-le-Duc, the Department and the Municipality in their

Proclamations aſſumed much leſs the language of authority than that of exhortation and humble entreaty. "Citizens," ſaid the Magiſtrates of the Department, in that which they publiſhed on the occaſion of the inſurrection of the 28th of February, "Citizens, "your fellow-citizens, thoſe whom you have "raiſed to the chief offices of the Admi-"niſtration, grieved at the diſorders which "have been paſſing in the Capital, denounce "the authors of thoſe troubles to you as the "enemies whom you ought the moſt to diſ-"truſt.—See how guilty thoſe men are! "They in ſome manner endanger the ſucceſs "of the Revolution.—They make uſe of "commotions to render the Conſtitution "odious; for a Conſtitution is only good as "it ſecures tranquillity.—They alſo diſgrace "Liberty, for Liberty does not conſiſt in "acknowledging no authority—Obſerve too "that the authors of the troubles do ſtill "more injury to the poor than to the rich, "for when public tranquillity is inter-"rupted, every one is anxious for the fu-"ture, ſhuts up his fortune, ſuſpends his "labours, diminiſhes his expences, and "thinks of quitting a town where the ſafety "of every individual is not ſufficiently pro-

"tected

" tected by the law. Do the inhabitants of " Paris require any other motives to induce " them to peace than their intereſt and their " own glory? This town began the Revo- " lution by its courage*: it muſt complete it " by its ſubmiſſion to the Laws. Let it fur- " niſh its Magiſtrates with the means of " repairing its loſſes and recompencing it " for all its ſacrifices. Public tranquillity " is, above all, indiſpenſable to encourage " their progreſs, and if they deſire it as a " means of ſucceſs in their important la- " bours, they requeſt it alſo as the moſt " pleaſing recompence for their zeal in their " difficult employments."

The Municipality, ſtimulated by the Department, ordered the Solicitor of the Commune to denounce to the Public Accuſer the crime of firing at the trooper of the National Guard whoſe thigh had been broken by a gun-ſhot, and alſo the manœuvres employed to inſtigate the workmen to the demolition of the priſon at Vincennes; but this denunciation was attended with no conſequences. In the ſame reſolution the Municipal Body requeſted *M. de la Fayette*, " to expreſs the gratitude of the Municipa-

* The courage of pillaging, burning, and aſſaſſinating!

" lity to the National Guard; declaring
" nevertheleſs that the Municipal Body re-
" gretted not being able to beſtow the ſame
" praiſes on ſome of the ſoldiers forming a
" part of the detachment under the com-
" mand of *M. Santerre.*" This was the only puniſhment *the Authorities* dared to think of inflicting on the detachment whoſe conduct had been not only diſorderly but ſeditious.

The King was ſo deeply affected by the cataſtrophe which cloſed the 28th of February, that a few days after, his health underwent a ſerious change. On the 4th of March his Majeſty was ſeized with a violent increaſing fever, accompanied with a ſore throat, oppreſſion, and ſpitting of blood; he continued eight or ten days extremely ill. When all the alarming ſymptoms diſappeared, and the King's convaleſcence was announced, this was celebrated at Paris on the 17th of March by illuminations, and the Municipality reſolved, that on the Sunday following a *Te Deum* ſhould be ſung in the Church of Notre Dame, as a thankſgiving for the ſpeedy recovery of the King's health; and that this *Te Deum* ſhould be followed by a general illumination. The Aſſembly likewiſe

wiſe on this occaſion manifeſted all the concern and attention they owed to the King. The firſt day on which an account was ſent to them of his illneſs, they reſolved that a deputation ſhould go every morning to the palace and give an account of the ſtate of his Majeſty's health at the opening of every Sitting. The Preſident in pronouncing the Reſolution very aptly obſerved, that "it "was the ſureſt means to fill the Hall "early."

Among the Decrees paſſed by the Aſſembly during the King's illneſs the moſt remarkable were:

1ſt. That which aboliſhed the old military ſyſtem.

2dly. That which ſuppreſſed the *Ferme Generale* (or the farming of the revenue), and the General Adminiſtration.

3dly. That which ordained the eſtabliſhment of a Proviſional Court at Orleans, to try treaſons againſt the Nation, till the formation of the High National Court.

4thly. That which reduced the number of the Marſhals of France to ſix, with a ſalary of 30,000 livres; and that of the Lieutenant-Generals actually employed to thirty, ſaving the allowance to be granted to

the Marſhals of France, who were upon the exiſting eſtabliſhment, but who were not to be kept in employment, and which the Aſſembly reſerved to be afterwards determined by them.

The day after the laſt Decree was paſſed, *Victor de Broglio*, induced by a deep ſenſe of filial piety, very pathetically beſought the Aſſembly to ſuſpend, in reſpect to Marſhal *de Broglio*, the immediate effect of the article concerning the rank of Marſhal of France. In his petition, the ſpeaker priding himſelf on ſeeing his name inſcribed among thoſe of the moſt conſtant and moſt intrepid defenders of Liberty, adduced the ſervices he had rendered the Revolution as a title which ſhould be the means of preſerving for his father the reward of thoſe he had rendered to the country. "He would never "ſurvive," ſaid he, "the misfortune of "loſing in the French army a rank ſo juſtly "acquired; and of undergoing a penalty "inflicted by the Nation too for whom he "has frequently ſhed his blood, and a thou-"ſand times expoſed his life." Among the number of Marſhal *Broglio*'s victories which might have been cited in ſupport of this fact, that of Bergen was the only one his

2 panegyriſt

panegyriſt mentioned, becauſe he thought it would conduce to the ſucceſs of his petition to bring to recollection *that the Court had recompenſed that important ſervice by a ſignal diſgrace; by an exile which, while it added to the glory of the General the luſtre of adverſity, became the fatal term of the ſuperiority he had given to the French arms. Victor Broglio*, paſſing afterwards to the events of the month of July 1789, ſaid: "I am now "arrived at a period that awakens all my "feelings, and for which I told you I "ſhould need your indulgence."——The indulgence of the Aſſembly implored for Marſhal *Broglio!*—by his ſon!——"Mar-"ſhal *Broglio* arrived at Verſailles.—His "firſt words, words ſurely memorable, were "theſe: 'I ſee an army indeed, but where "is the enemy?' The Council who dreaded "his rigorous virtue, continually aſſembled "in thoſe ſtormy moments, and never "called him to their meetings. He was "ignorant of all their projects. It was "from the public voice he firſt heard of "Mr. *Necker*'s departure; and while he "was entirely occupied in maintaining order "among his troops and harmony with the "citizens, that harmony was diſturbed by

"orders

" orders contrary to his, by hoſtile diſpoſi-
" tions in which he had no part.—He
" ſhowed the King the neceſſity of with-
" drawing the troops, and ſolicited the
" order for it. The National Aſſembly
" made their wiſh known, and the troops
" retired.—He determined to accompany
" them. When arrived at his government,
" he dreaded being an object of uneaſineſs
" to the citizens who had been deceived
" reſpecting his intentions, and preferring
" exile, he departed. The ſoldiers who
" accompanied him to the frontiers could
" not reſtrain their tears, when they ſaw
" thoſe that flowed from the eyes of their
" old General on the rigorous conduct he
" preſcribed to himſelf. Tranquil and
" blameleſs in the retreat which he has
" choſen, he deems it one of the greateſt
" misfortunes of his ſituation not to be
" ſheltered from the guilty invitations
" which his talents have ſeveral times em-
" boldened the enemies of the country to
" make to him, and which I here aver have
" been lately repeated to him, with greater
" importunity and audacity than ever, by
" perſons who make no ſecret of their in-
" tentions. With his uſual frankneſs he
" replied

" replied thus to thoſe perfidious agents: " *I can conceive that there may be a dif-* " *ference of opinion upon what is paſſing* " *in France, and that ſo many changes* " *may be conſidered as an overthrow; but* " *I cannot without indignation hear of a* " *project formed by Frenchmen to bear* " *arms againſt their Country—Go, you* " *make me ſhudder!*"

This petition, and particularly the laſt expreſſion, was generally applauded. The Aſſembly ordered it to be printed, and immediately decreed, that in conſideration of the long and important ſervices of the Marſhal *de Broglio*, and of the bad ſtate of his health, nothing ſhould be determined for the preſent on the rank and degree of Marſhal of France enjoyed by him, and in which they maintained him proviſionally.

A ſimilar exception to that decreed in favour of Marſhal *Broglio* was claimed two days after for Marſhal *de Caſtries* by ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly, and his right to it from his victories and diſtinguiſhed ſervices was generally acknowledged; but as the motion had been already made ſome days before by *M. Malouet*, and referred to the Committee, the Aſſembly thought it proper

proper to poſtpone the deciſion till their Report, and paſſed to the order of the day.

The ſentiments and expreſſions which *Victor de Broglio* had aſcribed to his father, the humble and doleful picture he drew of him in his petition, could not be well reconciled with that noble pride, that auſtere honour, and that gentlemanlike frankneſs, which diſtinguiſhed the old General Officers of the French army in former days, and particularly Marſhal *Broglio*. He no ſooner heard of the ſtep his ſon had taken, than he diſclaimed it with indignation in a letter dated at Treves, which was inſerted in ſeveral public papers, and which he did not even condeſcend to addreſs to him. Had the *filial piety* of *Victor Broglio* excited in him a ſincere deſire to alleviate the ſorrows of his father, he would have haſtened to abjure his errors, and to change his conduct entirely.

While Marſhal *Broglio* thus repelled a Decree, in which he could not acquieſce without allowing it to be ſuppoſed that he was inclined to take the new oath preſcribed to Public Functionaries, Cardinal *Bernis*, the Ambaſſador at Rome, and the Marquis *de Bombelles*, the Ambaſſador at Venice, ſet the ſame example in the Diplomatic Corps.

As

As ſoon as the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs heard it, he announced their diſmiſſion to the Aſſembly, informing them that new appointments would immediately take place.

The nomination of the new Biſhops was carried on throughout the Kingdom with the greateſt diſpatch. That of the Biſhop of *Paris* was poſtponed, becauſe *M. de Juigné* was out of the kingdom, and it was neceſſary to wait for a formal declaration from him of his refuſal to take the new oath. The public opinion and moſt of the newſpapers had at firſt marked out the Biſhop of *Autun* or the Abbé *Sieyes* for his ſucceſſor. But the Biſhop of *Autun* ſoon declared, that although he could not but be proud to ſee his name placed with that of the Abbé *Sieyes*, that he ſhould not accept it even if he were nominated. "I will not," ſaid he, "give "my enemies an occaſion to ſay that any "private motive could induce me to take "the oath. I will leave them no handle to "hurt the good I hope to do. I made my "wiſhes as public as I now make this de-"termination, when I declared how much "I ſhould be flattered by being one of the "Members of the Department of Paris *."

* See the *Moniteur* of the 8th of February 1791.

His

His wiſhes were gratified; he was appointed a Member of the Department at the ſame time with *Mirabeau*, his boſom friend, who had alſo been very anxious for that office, in order to unite all the means of influence and popularity that could contribute to the ſucceſs of his plan. It is more than probable that he had taken the Biſhop of *Autun* into his confidence; but whether we admit or reject this ſuppoſition, it remains to be explained by what motive the Abbé *de Talleyrand*, of whom any thing might be ſaid but that he was a fool, neither wiſhing to keep his own Biſhopric or deſiring another, could determine to ſet the firſt example of apoſtacy by an oath with which he might have diſpenſed by reſigning a few days ſooner. His opinion on the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy was the ſame as that of all the Biſhops, but he was the only one of them who voted with the *Coté-Gauche*, and this circumſtance rendered his ſituation very embarraſſing. How is his Revolutionary conduct to be reconciled with that which his opinion on the new oath preſcribed to him? He was not inclined either to take or to reject it; he wiſhed to avoid it. He therefore was determined to give in his reſignation

before the day fixed for the taking of the oath. This reſolution was warmly oppoſed by the chief members of his party. They repreſented to him on good grounds, that this ſtep, to which his popularity would give the greater weight, would be conſidered as a formal refuſal of taking the oath, and would do more harm not only to the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy but to the Revolution itſelf, than all the proteſtations and reſtrictions that could be made by the Biſhops of the oppoſite Party; that whatever was his private opinion upon the oath, it was only to the execution of it he could object, and that he would be as completely exempted from that by reſigning after he had ſworn as he would without ſwearing. He was prevailed upon by importunity to agree to this. When he was ſeen in the Tribune defending the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy, and taking the oath, no one doubted but that he was inſincere. He was openly accuſed of it by all the Anti-revolutionary Journaliſts. His friends then perſuaded him, that to repel effectually an accuſation which ſo ſeriouſly impeached his honour, it was indiſpenſable, before he reſigned, to prove by ſome unequivocal act that he had ſworn

ſincerely,

ſincerely, ſo that at moſt he might be charged with an error only, and not with a crime. This motive determined him to write a public letter to the Eccleſiaſtical Functionaries of his Dioceſe, to inform them that he had taken the oath, and to invite them to follow his example. This letter was inſerted in all the journals*: he reſigned a few days after.

When the conſecration of the firſt Conſtitutional Biſhops was to take place, the Archbiſhop of *Sens* and the Biſhops of *Orleans*, having reſolutely refuſed to undertake it, the Biſhop of *Autun* was applied to, and he at firſt very firmly withſtood the invitation and all the entreaties with which it was accompanied. He had abdicated the Epiſcopacy, no more to exerciſe the functions of it, and that which he was requeſted to undertake being the moſt auguſt and ſolemn, was, on that account only, what he was the moſt repugnant to. The two other Prelates were tried again, but they perſiſted in their refuſal, and threw the Anti-religious Faction into the moſt vexatious embarraſſment. They ſaw their deciſive operation likely to fail entirely from the impoſſibility of replacing

* Appendix, No. xii.

the

the Biſhops who had been deprived, which almoſt all of them were. They therefore returned to the Biſhop of *Autun*, to whom *Treilhard*, the Advocate, undertook to ſpeak. He reproached him moſt vehemently with his want of character, and his puſillanimity. "You are too far advanced to re-"cede," ſaid he: "when once a man has "decided in favour of a Party, he muſt not "ſerve it by halves if he wiſhes to be ſup-"ported by it, and you can no longer ex-"pect ſupport from any but us. What "could you hope from the Ariſtocratic "Party? You have already done too much "not to be for ever the object of their "hatred: will you alſo be that of their con-"tempt? We ſhall give you up to it, and "add our own; for with theſe perpetual "waverings a man is good for nothing in "a Revolution, and becomes equally odious "to all Parties. This will be your fate if "you heſitate any longer; and I am com-"miſſioned to declare it to you*." Theſe menaces

* *Treillard* in the firſt Aſſembly had originally diſplayed the greateſt moderation. He ſpoke little, but always diſcreetly, and to the ſame effect as the Members of the *Coté-Droit*. The Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, think-

menaces ſupported by the bad advice of ſome of his friends overcame his reſiſtance.

Thus is it, that in the path of honour and duty the firſt falſe ſtep rarely leaves ſufficient ſtrength to avoid a ſecond: the ſecond is almoſt always followed by a third; they then increaſe, ſucceed rapidly, and very ſoon lead from deviation to deviation, from fall to fall, to the loweſt degree of vileneſs.

The refuſal of the Archbiſhop of *Paris* to take the oath being at length formally made known, the Aſſembly of Electors appointed the Abbé *Gobet*, Biſhop of *Lydda*, to ſucceed that virtuous Prelate. He was nominated at the ſame time, almoſt unanimouſly, to the Biſhopric of the Department

ing lightly of his talents, paid no attention to him at firſt: but the manner in which he ſpoke in favour of the *Veto* opened their eyes, and they began to fear that this Advocate might prove a troubleſome opponent if they did not ſecure him. They immediately practiſed all their arts of ſeduction to gain him over to their Party. It required only eight days to convert him. He then took his place in the *Coté-Gauche*, and figured amongſt the moſt violent Conſtitutional Orators. He has ſince appeared in the character of a flaming Revolutioniſt, a furious Republican, and finally, a Member of the Directory.

of

of the Upper Rhine, and to that of the Department of the Upper Marne; but as he could only hold one he chose the best, and announced to the Assembly that he accepted the Metropolitan See of Paris. The *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries testified their gratitude and joy by repeated plaudits. He was proclaimed and installed with pomp on the 17th of March in the Church of *Notre Dame* by the Body of Electors, on which occasion he read a homily, far more Constitutional than Evangelical. He received the canonical institution from the late Bishop of *Autun* on the 24th of March, and the next day he was installed again by the Municipality.

If there should ever arise a doubt on the defect and inconveniences without number, attending popular elections, in the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities, the manner in which the Bishops and Priests were replaced in 1791, would be enough to decide the question. I shall cite but one example, that of the Bishop of *Lydda*, who was nominated by three Electoral Assemblies to three different Sees. The first idea that strikes the mind on this, is, that to obtain so many suffrages he must really have pos-

ſeſſed ſome merit. Was that the caſe? No—this Biſhop of *Lydda*, this Abbé *Gobet*, was but an intriguing hypocrite of the vileſt kind, as we may judge from the following anecdote. In the year 1792, he went to the Marquis *de Spinola*, the Genoeſe Miniſter, with whom he had requeſted an interview on a buſineſs of the utmoſt importance. "I come, Sir," ſaid he to him, in an affecting tone, "to impart to you a "grand project which my conſcience has "ſuggeſted to me, and the ſucceſs of which "depends greatly upon you. The matter "is this: Divine Providence has granted "me his grace to ſee the enormity of the "crime which I have committed in taking "the Conſtitutional Oath. I wiſh to re-"tract it. I have perhaps rendered myſelf "ſtill more guilty by accepting the Biſhopric "of Paris. I am reſolved to reſign it; but "I would make my recantation and re-"ſignation in a manner ſo ſolemn, that there "ſhould reſult from them in favour of Re-"ligion, a benefit greater than the injury I "may have done it, by the ſcandal of my "conduct."

The Marquis *de Spinola* could not but be edified by this reſolution; but he had no no-

tion

tion how his concurrence could be of uſe in the buſineſs. The Abbé *Gobet* ſoon ſolved the riddle. "Not to mention the danger of "being maſſacred," continued he, "to "which I expoſe myſelf by ſo ſtriking "a conduct, it is certain that I ſhall be "deprived of all kind of ſtipend: the De- "cree is poſitive on that head. I have no "fortune, and I have been under the ne- "ceſſity of contracting debts. If I am "ruined and left a bankrupt for having "done my duty, my example will not have "many followers. I wiſh therefore to "know, Sir, whether it would be agreea- "able to you or not to undertake to impart "my intentions to the Pope, and ſolicit for "me the aſſiſtance of a hundred thouſand "crowns, which would be enough to pay "my debts, and ſecure me a ſubſiſtence.— "This ſum may appear to you a large one, "yet it is very moderate, if you conſider, "that the ſalvation of Religion in France "may depend upon it."

The Marquis *de Spinola*, who himſelf related this anecdote to me, ſeeing that the affair had nothing to do with the buſineſs of the Republic of Genoa, refuſed poſitively

to interfere in it, and heard no more of the Abbé *Gobet*, who, without having either recanted or reſigned, periſhed by the guillotine, when it came to the turn of the brigands of his deſcription. *Ab uno diſce omnes**.

Cardinal *de Lomenie* being nominated by the Electoral Aſſemblies to the Biſhoprics of Toulouſe and Sens, preferred the latter See. The Pope, to whom he had written

* This Abbé *Gobet*, Biſhop of *Lydda*, previous to the union of the Orders diſplayed the greateſt zeal for the rights and intereſts of the Clergy. It was then neceſſary for him to conciliate the favour of the majority of the Order, that he might not be excluded from the Aſſembly, as being a Foreign Biſhop. His conduct and his principles appeared ſo pure to his colleagues, that they examined his powers very ſlightly, in order that they might not be under the neceſſity of declaring them null, which would have been the conſequence of verifying them ſtrictly. But after the union of the Orders, the reaſons for which the Abbé *Gobet's* Deputation had been confirmed by the Chamber of the Clergy, would have ſufficed for its being pronounced null, by the majority of the National Aſſembly, if he had not ſecured the protection of the Factious, by promiſing them to change his principles and conduct totally, and to range himſelf in their party. He was very true to his promiſe, and was, in conſequence, rewarded with the Biſhopric of Paris.

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to explain and juſtify the motives which had determined him to take the oath, replied to him by a brief, which was made public, and in which his Holineſs reprimanded him *for having had the weakneſs to utter an outward oath*, which his heart diſclaimed. The fear of ſeeming to acquieſce in this cenſure, if he made no anſwer to it, induced him to repel it in the moſt open manner, and in conſequence, he wrote another letter to the Pope, on the 26th of March, which he cauſed to be inſerted in the public papers. It was conceived in theſe terms:

" Moſt Holy Father, I requeſted the Nuncio to lay before your Holineſs my firſt repreſentations on the Brief you ſent to me, and on the very public manner of it; but I owe it to my honour to make a farther reply, and I acquit myſelf of that duty, by reſigning to your Holineſs the dignity which you have had the goodneſs to confer upon me. No man of honour, unjuſtly reviled, can bear to retain the bonds of gratitude.

" When your Holineſs deigned to admit me into the Sacred College, I did not, moſt Holy Father, foreſee, that to preſerve that

honour, it would be neceſſary to be falſe to the laws of my country, and to what I think I owe to the Sovereign authority.

" Driven to the alternative of diſregarding that authority, or of renouncing the dignity of Cardinal, I do not heſitate a moment, and I hope that your Holineſs will judge by this conduct better than by uſeleſs explanations, that I am far above the pretended ſubterfuge of an outward oath; that my heart never diſclaimed what my lips pronounced; and that if I had not been able to approve all the articles of the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy, I was no leſs firmly reſolved to fulfill the engagement I had contracted of being obedient to it, ſeeing nothing in what it ordered contrary to faith or repugnant to my conſcience.

" I ought, perhaps, moſt Holy Father, to reply to the other cenſures contained in your Holineſs's Brief; for, although I am no longer a Cardinal, I am ſtill, as a Biſhop, bound to the Head of the Church, to the common Father of the Faithful, and as ſuch I ſhall ever be ready to render an account of my conduct to you; but the delay of your anſwer, the expreſſions in which it is conceived,

ceived, and above all, the ſtrange abuſe of confidence which your Miniſter has exerciſed, impoſe ſilence upon me.

" Let me be permitted only to repeat to your Holineſs, that you are deceived reſpecting the ſtate of Religion in this Country; that the modes of condeſcenſion to which I endeavoured to lead you are imperiouſly commanded by circumſtances; that your long ſilence has perhaps brought affairs to a criſis, and that the rigorous means on which you ſeem determined, can only produce an effect contrary to your intentions.

" I beſeech your Holineſs to conſider theſe laſt obſervations as the trueſt mark of the reſpect and devotion with which, &c. &c.

" (Signed) LOMENIE."

The late Cardinal ſent this letter to *M. de Montmorin*, with a requeſt that he would lay it before the King, and cauſe it to be forwarded to Rome. To the letter he wrote to the Miniſter, he added the paſſage of his firſt letter to the Pope, that had given room to the cenſure which his Holineſs had paſſed upon him, and an extract from the mandate he had publiſhed at the time of taking the oath.

oath. This paſſage, which was tranſlated from the Latin, by this *Biſhop of Sens* himſelf, was as follows: "Your Holineſs will "eaſily obſerve, that this oath is not an ap- "probation. The National Aſſembly itſelf "does not require that approbation, which "is due only to the Divine Laws. Your "Holineſs will alſo obſerve, that this oath "does not relate to the Decrees, which, "executed by the Government itſelf, re- "quire of us only reſignation; but that its "object is merely thoſe points which I ſtated "to you in my firſt letter, and which can- "not be executed without our concurrence." The extract from the Mandate was: "It "was in this view that we examined the "Decrees of the Civil Conſtitution of the "Clergy, not in themſelves and their ten- "dency (the acquieſcence of the heart is "due only to the Divine Laws), not thoſe "which require a paſſive obedience (where "the will is not exerciſed there is neither "merit nor demerit) but thoſe which we "are called upon to execute with all our "power."

The intention of bringing theſe two paſſages together, was to prove the conformity between them, and that in both, ſubmiſſion

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was diſtinguiſhed from approbation: "But," ſays he in his letter to *M. de Montmorin*, "ſubmiſſion to a Conſtitution is not the "leſs ſincere and true, becauſe we do not "approve all the articles of it. *I ſwear to "pay tribute to Cæſar;* but I do not ſwear "that *Cæſar* is right in demanding of me "that which he exacts."

By this inſolent ſtep the Conſtitutional Biſhop of *Sens* obtained for a while the protection of the Jacobins, and the good graces of the *Sans-Culottes*; but it excited the more the indignation and contempt of all men of honour *.

During

* Cardinal *de Lomenie* and the Abbé *de Jarente*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, the only Members of the old Clergy, who were vile enough to take the new oath, in order to preſerve their places, both met the fate they but too well merited. The Biſhop of *Viviers* and the Biſhop of *Autun* alſo took the oath; but at the time, the former was in a decided ſtate of inſanity, and the latter could not be well accuſed of committing the crime, for the purpoſe of preſerving his place, as he reſigned it a few days after his apoſtacy. Under the reign of *Robeſpierre*, the Cardinal *de Lomenie* was devoted to the guillotine, which he eſcaped only by poiſoning himſelf, as ſoon as the Commiſſioners ſent to Sens to ſecure his perſon, and carry him to Paris, had informed him of the purpoſe for which they

During the King's illneſs *Mirabeau* occupied himſelf entirely in combining and preparing the different meaſures that were neceſſary to his plan, whether at Paris or in the Provinces. He went almoſt every night to conſult upon it with *M. de Montmorin*, who every day augured more favourably of it. "I doubt," ſaid he one day to me, "whether there ever exiſted ſo vigorous an "intellect as *Mirabeau's*. He is not only "not to be ſtopped by any difficulty, but "there are very few from which he does "not find ſome means to extract advantage. "With ſuch an inſtrument we may make "and unmake Revolutions at pleaſure."— He attended the Aſſembly ſufficiently regularly not to be ſuſpected of other occupations; but he hardly took any part in the important buſineſs diſcuſſed in that interval. That of

they came. The day after their arrival, when they were to ſet out with him, he was found dead in his bed.

The Biſhop of *Orleans*, a man of no character, virtue, or talents of any kind, eſcaped death only by his diſguſting inſignificancy. His life was ſpared, becauſe he was not found worth the trouble of guillotining. Reduced, at preſent, to the loweſt ſtate of miſery, his turpitude diſgraces the very rags that cover him.

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the *Clermontois*, the debate upon which occupied ſeveral Sittings, was determined without his ſpeaking once. He left to the Abbé *Maury* and *M. de Clermont Lodève*, the care of pleading the cauſe of the houſe of *Condé*; and it was defended by both, each in his own ſtyle, with arguments and proofs which the Aſſembly would have found irreſiſtible, if they had been inclined to be juſt; but their firſt and conſtant inclination was to plunder. They declared therefore, that the grant of the *Clermontois* made to the great *Condé*, in the month of December 1648, as a recompence for the moſt important ſervices, ſhould be revoked, as well as all Briefs of the Crown, Decrees of Council, Edicts, Declarations, and Letters Patent, confirming, enlarging, or warranting the ſaid grant. They alſo declared the exchange made between the King and the Prince *de Condé*, on the 15th of February 1784, of all the eſtates and rights of the *Clermontois*, for an annuity of 600,000 livres, null and void, and only left the Prince, in conſideration of the ſervices of the great *Condé*, the ſum of ſeven millions five hundred thouſand livres, which had been paid to him as a balance or ſurplus

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of the change, at the execution of the contract.

In the long and many debates which aroſe on the plan for a law relative to the regency, *Mirabeau* ſpoke once for its adjournment, and another time to propoſe to the Aſſembly to diſcuſs, previous to all the articles preſented by the Committee, the queſtion whether the regency ſhould be elective or not; but he only ſpoke with the degree of earneſtneſs which he thought neceſſary to prevent the conjectures which his indifference upon ſo important a law could not fail to have created. At this period he alſo read a long memorial on the mines. This work, as well as many others, which he read to the Aſſembly, or which he publiſhed under his name, were his only by adoption. Almoſt the whole of this had been written by his friend the Marquis *de Luchet*. *Mirabeau* had only ſeaſoned it with a few phraſes to give it his ſeal.

After a diſcuſſion extended to ſeveral Sittings, the Aſſembly decreed, that the regency ſhould appertain of full right, during the minority of the King, to his neareſt relation of age, according to the order of ſucceſſion

ceſſion to the Throne, provided he were a Frenchman, born and reſident in France, and had taken the civic oath; that in caſe the King under age, ſhould have no relation ſo qualified, the regent ſhould be elected*; that females ſhould be excluded from the regency; that the King ſhould be of age at eighteen years, and that from the day he was of age, the regency ſhould ceaſe as of courſe.

It was then decreed, that the care of the perſon of a King under age, ſhould be confided to his mother; that, in caſe he had no mother, or if ſhe were married again, at the acceſſion of her ſon to the Throne, or if ſhe married again, during his minority, the care of the King ſhould be given to a perſon elected by the Legiſlative Body. All theſe arrangements were adopted without oppoſition; but that was not the caſe with thoſe relative to the reſidence of the Public Functionaries, the debate upon which had been adjourned on *Mirabeau's* motion, till the law reſpecting the regency ſhould have paſſed. The members of the *Coté-Droit*

* The conſideration of the mode of election was adjourned. It was only determined that it ſhould not be delegated to the legiſlature.

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unanimouſly cenſured the Committee for perſiſting to give the King the appellation of *Public Functionary*, in ſpite of the ſcandal which thoſe indecent expreſſions had cauſed at the firſt reading of the plan for a Decree.

" The Committee," ſaid *M. de Cazalès*, " ought to know, that a Nation honours " itſelf by honouring its Chief. They " ought to think of the example ſet us " by England; that Nation is free under " a King the moſt reſpected. They ought, " above all, to take care not to produce " again the articles in which it is ſaid, that " *if the King left the Kingdom, and did* " *not, upon being called upon, by a Pro-* " *clamation of the Legiſlative Body, return* " *to France, he ſhould be judged to have* " *abdicated the Throne.* If there are caſes " in which the King is amenable, there are " caſes in which the Executive Power is " dependant; now, if it is dependant, it " is under ſubjection; and, if under ſub- " jection, adieu to all Government, to all " the happineſs of the Nation! It is not of " you, of your modern Conſtitution, that " the Royal Family hold the right of ſuc- " ceſſion to the Crown. They hold it from

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" the voice of the French People, for " eight hundred years paſt: from the voice " of this Nation, who ſpoke loudly in our " own days, when they ordered you to ac- " knowledge this principle, under pain of " diſloyalty to the King and to the Nation. " If the inheritance of the Monarch to the " Throne is independant of your power, " you have no right to impoſe conditions " upon him. As for me, I am not afraid " to ſay, that to debate on this ſubject " would be treaſon. If the Aſſembly, in " an intoxication of power, by which they " have often been miſled, ſhould proceed to " diſcuſs this queſtion, I declare that I will " take no part in their deliberation. I ſwear " to diſobey them; I ſwear to remain con- " ſtantly loyal to the blood of *St. Louis* " and of *Henry IV.*; I ſwear, let your De- " crees, let events be what they may, I will " never ceaſe to defend the blood of my " lawful Sovereigns." At theſe words, the members of the *Coté-Droit*, ſtanding, and holding up their hands, cried — *We all ſwear it!*

Petion was the firſt champion of the *Coté-Gauche*, who entered the liſts againſt *M. de Cazalès*. " Can we," ſaid he, " ſuf-

" fer the Nation to be thus degraded—thus " vilified? Free citizens are ſubjects only " of the Law. In a body they are not ſub- " jects of a King: in a body they are So- " vereigns. I ſhall put a very plain queſ- " tion, and I beg it may be anſwered: Sup- " poſe the King to enter the Kingdom at " the head of a Foreign army, to ſubdue the " Nation, would not the King, in that caſe " be puniſhable?"—" No! no! replied all the *Coté-Droit.* " If ſo," cried the Abbé *Maury*, " *Henry IV. ought to have been hanged.*" *Petion* ſtammered out a few words more in ſupport of his propoſition, when *Alexander de Lameth*, fearing the conſe- quences of ſo unequal a conteſt, roſe, and maintained boldly, in the name of the Con- ſtitution and of the Sovereignty of the Na- tion, that to advance or admit the theory of *M. de Cazalès*, was to betray both. " As " it has been decreed," added he, " that " the Sovereignty reſides in the Nation——" —" It is not *true*," cried the Abbé *Maury* —" it is very aſtoniſhing," proceeded *Lameth*, " that men ſtill talk of loyal ſubjects, as if " it were poſſible not to be loyal to the So- " vereignty. We will be faithful to the " law; we have ſworn it, and thoſe Gen-

" tlemen have ſworn it too. It is ſaid that " the plan of the Committee infringes on " the perſonal inviolability of the King; but " it is in fulfilling his functions, that the " King is inviolable." Theſe words produced a violent agitation, which the *Coté-Gauche* accompanied with ſome applauſes. " To what a pitch," reſumed the ſpeaker, " will men dare to carry their mockery of " us and of the Nation, by pretending that " the King contracts no obligation? We are " faithful to the King, but to the King of " the Conſtitution. We are above all, faithful to the Sovereign Nation."—" Mr. " Preſident," cried *M. Deſpréménil*, " pray " call theſe blaſphemers to order." — " How," proceeded *Alexander Lameth*, " Can any one pretend to tell us that the " Nation, who have a right to change their " Government, have no right to depoſe a " King, who abandons his functions?"— The agitation increaſed, and ſeveral voices called the ſpeaker to order. He ſaid a few words more, and concluded with moving, that the Aſſembly, without paying attention to the propoſitions of *M. de Cazalès* or *M. Deſpréménil*, ſhould proceed to the diſ-

cuſſion of the articles of the plan for a Decree. *M. de Cazalès* demanded to be heard, and began to ſpeak; but the *Coté-Gauche*, thinking themſelves not ſtrong enough at that time to ſecure ſucceſs to the plan of the Committee, roſe in a maſs, calling loudly for *the order of the day.* The Preſident put this motion to the vote, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the *Coté-Droit.* The majority, doubtful at the firſt attempt made in favour of the order of the day, now declared for it, which the Aſſembly adopted, and immediately broke up the Sitting, although it was but two o'clock.

Mirabeau, who had been for ſome time ſubject to violent attacks of the cholic, was not at the Aſſembly on that day. He attended the day following, for the laſt time; but the debate relative to the reſidence of the Public Functionaries, was carefully avoided in his preſence. The manner in which he had argued, at the time of the Committee's firſt report, had alarmed the Factious of the *Coté-Gauche*, without fully gaining the confidence of the *Coté-Droit*; ſo that both, equally fearing to have him as an adverſary in the debate, concurred, without

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underſtanding each other, in deſiring that it ſhould not be renewed at this Sitting, which was chiefly occupied in deliberating on the plan for a Decree which *Mirabeau* had propoſed relative to the mines and ores, and of which all the articles were adopted, with ſome ſlight amendments.

The debate on the reſidence of the Public Functionaries, was reſumed in the next Sitting. The reporter, (*Thouret*) had had time to prepare an anſwer to *M. de Cazalès's* objections. He contended againſt them in a long ſpeech, on which the members of the *Coté-Gauche* laviſhed their applauſes. He omitted no caſe in which the King could be held guilty againſt the Nation, and maintained that their poſſibility was ſufficient to make it the duty of the Aſſembly to provide againſt them. *M. de Cazalès* replied, "I ſhall not examine," ſaid he, "whether, by diving, with a criminal ſedulity, into ſuch poſitions, a lawful caſe may or may not be found, in which the Nation may depoſe their rightful Sovereign. That queſtion was wrapped in a ſacred veil; and they are culpable, who have dared to rend that veil. It is proved, that it is not neceſſary to have a

law to determine the abdication of the Throne. In circumſtances like thoſe, which the laſt ſpeaker has dared to foreſee, the ſupreme will of the Nation would decide more ſurely than the law. This foreſight is a ſpecies of crime. Nay, if the object of all Government be to inſure the tranquillity and happineſs of the People, how can it be otherwiſe than criminal to diſcuſs theſe queſtions, which teach the People to deſpiſe the ſupreme authority, and point out the exact caſes in which they are to diſobey their Sovereign? It is to theſe raſh ſpeculations—it is to the maxims too often ſupported in this Aſſembly, that you owe the diſpoſition to rebellion, the anarchy to which the Kingdom is given up, and a part of the crimes which have diſgraced the Revolution. You are gathering the fruits, the very bitter fruits of ſo indiſcreet a conduct. Where is the Judge to be found between the National Aſſembly and the King, in all the caſes you have pointed out? Will the National Aſſembly pronounce the judgment? Then would the Executive Power be tried by the Legiſlative Body. This would be the greateſt encroachment on the Conſtitution,

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the moſt inconſiſtent with the diſtinction of the powers. Once render the Executive Power dependant, and you annihilate Liberty. It is every where the fate of the People not to be able to exerciſe their power. Compelled to delegate it, it was neceſſary that they ſhould balance the powers confided by them. By thoſe powers they reign, they judge, and are Sovereign; but if one of the powers they delegate be annihilated, the People are ſlaves—they are no more any thing. Thus every time you give one of the powers the aſcendancy over the other, you are traitors to that People, of whom ſo much is ſaid, and whom then you enſlave, &c. &c."

The reporter repeated, in different words, the anſwers he had already made and perſiſted in maintaining the Committee's plan for a Decree, to which, however, he propoſed a modification tending to convoke a National Convention in the caſe of the King, abſent from the Kingdom, refuſing to return, after a proclamation by the Legiſlative Body, and to inveſt that Convention with the right of deciding, whether the King could be conſidered or not, as having abdicated the Throne by his abſence.

M. Deſpréménil preſented another plan for a Decree, by which it ſhould be declared, "that the ſacred perſon of the King was exempt from all juriſdiction, in every caſe, and at all times, without exception; that no power, were it even ſtrengthened by the will of the King himſelf, could declare him amenable; that every poſition which ſhould tend to inflict the ſlighteſt penalty on the Royal Head, could proceed only from the mouth of a mad-man or a rebel, &c. &c." He was interrupted at every ſentence, ſometimes by burſts of laughter, ſometimes by cries of—"to Charenton* with him, to the Com-"mittee of Lunatics!" The Aſſembly put an end to theſe witticiſms by cloſing the debate. Many of the members of the *Coté-Droit*, foreſeeing the iſſue, determined not to take any part in it. Several of them left the Hall. The articles of the plan for a Decree propoſed by the Commmitee which related to the King, was then put to the vote, and adopted. The modification propoſed by the reporter was rejected, and it was only decreed, on that head, that the

* Where there was an hoſpital for mad people.

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mode of execution ſhould be referred to the Committee.

At the time that the Factious gained this victory in the Aſſembly, there was another preparing much more important to them.—*Mirabeau* was ſeized with a violent ſpaſm in his ſtomach and breaſt, and lay in the greateſt danger. The medicines he took produced at firſt ſuch effects as to leave ſome hopes; but they were of ſhort duration. On the third day the diſorder aſſumed the moſt unfavourable ſymptoms, and in the morning of the ſixth, *Mirabeau* was no more. Several of his beſt friends, among whom was the Biſhop of *Autun*, ſtaid with him during the whole of his illneſs. In the moments of intermiſſion from pain, he ſpoke to them with his uſual acuteneſs and energy, upon the important objects that occupied his mind. A few minutes before his death he ſaid, "My friends, it is not for "me you have to weep, but for the Mo-"narchy, which deſcends with me to the "grave."—His words were but too true.

His death had at Paris the effect of a great public calamity. Dejected countenances were ſeen in every quarter. The tradeſman, the mechanic, the labourer, all grieved for him

him as ſeverely as a good ſon mourns a good father. They were ſeen in the ſtreets indiſcriminately accoſting each other, though unacquainted, to unite their ſorrows for the death of *Mirabeau*, as if they had all been of his family. Nor did the Aſſembly ſhow leſs grief, of which they inſerted teſtimonies on their Journals, and decreed that they ſhould in a Body attend his funeral. He was buried on the 4th of April. Never was there a more magnificient or noble funeral. The train began to be formed at five o'clock in the afternoon. The proceſſion was opened by a detachment of Pariſian National Cavalry. This detachment was followed by a body of Miners and Cannoniers, a deputation of the Invalids, and a deputation of the ſixty battalions of the Pariſian National Guard, marching ſixteen deep, preceded by the Staff-Officers, at the head of whom was *M. de la Fayette.* The *Cent-Suiſſes* of the King's Guards, and the Guards of the *Prevoté de l'Hotel* came next, and was followed by the band of muſic belonging to the National Guard, with funeral inſtruments and drums dreſſed in black crape. A great number of the Clergy preceded the body. The coffin was to have been carried in a hearſe,

hearſe, but the battalion of the ſection of *la Grange-bateliere*, of which *Mirabeau* had been Commander, deſired to carry it. It was alternately borne by ſixteen ſoldiers, who were encompaſſed by a great many of the National Guards with their arms reverſed. The Colours of the battalion were raiſed on the coffin, on which was alſo a civic crown. The National Aſſembly went next, eſcorted by the battalion of the Veterans and by that of the Cadets. The Electors, the Deputies of the forty-eight Sections, the Department, the Municipality, the Judges of the Courts of Paris, the Municipal Officers of the neighbouring towns, the King's Miniſters, the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution (*the Jacobins*), the Club of 1789, the Fraternal Societies, and all the Patriotic Clubs of the Capital came after the Aſſembly. The proceſſion was cloſed by a conſiderable detachment of infantry and cavalry. This immenſe train proceeded with the greateſt order through a lane of double ranks of the National Guards, and an innumerable crowd of citizens of all ages and ſexes, who preſerved a dead ſilence, except that now and then it was broken by ſome accents of ſorrow. After a march of three hours the proceſſion arrived

arrived at the Church of *St. Euſtache*, which was entirely hung with black, and where the Abbé *Cerutti*, formerly a Jeſuit, delivered a funeral and pathetic eulogium upon *Mirabeau*, conſidered as a Politician and a Legiſlator.

The general anxiety to pay him every poſſible honour, ſuggeſted to the Directory of the Department the idea, a very extraordinary one ſurely, of converting the new church of *St. Genevieve* into a Pantheon, appropriated to receiving the aſhes of ſuch great men as the Repreſentatives of the Nation ſhould judge worthy of that honour. They preſented a petition to this effect to the Aſſembly, and propoſed to them to grant this reward to the ſignal ſervices which *Mirabeau* had rendered the Country. This petition, which was received with rapture, was referred to the Committee of the Conſtitution, and paſſed into a Decree the next morning, the day on which *Mirabeau* was buried. The Aſſembly ordered that his body ſhould be laid by the aſhes of *Deſcartes*, in the vault of the old church of *St. Genevieve*, until the new one was ready to receive it. In the meantime it was decreed, that the Directors of the Department ſhould ſee that this

this edifice be ſpeedily made ready for its new deſtination, and the following inſcription engraved above the pediment:

AUX GRANDS HOMMES
LA PATRIE RECONNOISSANTE*.

In obedience to this Decree the body of *Mirabeau* was removed to the old church of *St. Genevieve* as ſoon as the Abbé *Cerutti* had finiſhed his diſcourſe, and was accompanied thither by the ſame train that had attended it to *St. Euſtache.* The proceſſion was conducted in the ſame order as before; and it was one in the morning before the ceremony was over. The public places were ſhut up, as they had been on the day of his death. The Directors of the Department of Paris, the Municipality, and club of Jacobins, entered into a reſolution of wearing mourning for ſeveral days, and their example was followed by ſome other departments.

The debate on the diſtribution of ſucceſſions in a direct line was to take place on the very day that *Mirabeau* died, and one of the laſt things he regretted was, that he ſhould

* To Great Men, dedicated by a grateful Country.

not

not be able to go that day to the Aſſembly, to read a diſcourſe which he had prepared upon the occaſion. As he was expiring, he put it into the hands of the Biſhop of *Autun*, and begged him to read it in his name, which the Biſhop did that very day in the Evening-Sitting. "The author of this writing," ſaid he, "is no more; I bring you his laſt "work. We may conſider it as a precious "reſcued relic of the immenſe prey which "Death has ſeized. *M. Mirabeau* is at this "inſtant ſtill a public man. By attending "to this diſcourſe you will in a manner re-"ceive his laſt ſigh." The reading of it was liſtened to with a religious ſilence, yet often interrupted by applauſe. The Aſſembly ordered it to be printed, and adjourned the debate.

Mirabeau poſſeſſed ſo robuſt a conſtitution, ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that it was very generally ſuſpected that he had been poiſoned. But he was opened, in preſence of ſeveral of the faculty, by his own phyſician, who was affectionately attached to him, and not the ſlighteſt appearance of poiſon was perceived. For near a month before, his health, which he never took care of, had been much impaired by frequent attacks

attacks of the colic, and the diſorder that proved fatal was the natural and immediate conſequence of a debauch which he had carried to the greateſt exceſs.

Thus died this man, who was poſſeſſed of qualities doubtleſs very rare, but the moſt fatal when not the moſt valuable. He had ſufficient energy, ſufficient ambition, and more talents than neceſſary to fill the higheſt offices with great eminence; in a word, to be a Great Man, if the violence of his paſſions and his love of money had not always rendered him a contemptible one, and often a raſcal. It would be very difficult to ſelect a ſingle period of his life free from errors or crimes. If he had not died ſo ſoon, he might, by important ſervices, have repaired a part of the miſchief he had done; he might perhaps have ſaved the Monarchy: but Providence, who ſometimes ſuffers the wicked to triumph and to oppreſs virtue, very rarely permits the ignominious path of wickedneſs to lead to that of real glory. The extraordinary honours decreed to *Mirabeau* by the Aſſembly and the Capital, were but of ſhort duration, for they were granted for criminal ſervices, for a conduct much leſs deſerving praiſe than contempt and puniſhment.

Had

Had they been the reward of the intentions and of the plan which had occupied his mind for the laſt three months of his life, they would have been immortal; becauſe they would have been the homage and the recompence of virtue.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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